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THE CENTENARY OF VICTOR HUGO.

FOLLOWING in the footsteps of Germany who, three years back, did honour to herself by the spontaneous celebration of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Wolfgang Goethe's birthday, France, on the 26th February last, paid homage to herself in as spontaneously commemorating the centenary of her national poet, Victor Hugo. Is hero-worship—a creed in which Carlyle read effective lessons of impetus and encouragement to progress for the national consciousness—going to be earnestly followed in practice? I see the nations of the Europe of old no longer indifferent to the dates marked by the birth of the artists and thinkers who have graced their history. Yesterday, Italy recalled the impassioned author of the *Jerusalem*; to-day, Russia hails the pseudo-revolutionary writer of the *Dead Souls*; and to-morrow, no doubt, the patriotism of other countries will think it an honour to follow such noble examples.

Few ceremonials, in fact, develop, even among the lower classes, the love for tradition to such a large extent, showing palpably and tangibly the extent to which the glorious present is but the normal continuation of the modest past. This is one of those truths which can never be too widely disseminated nor too sufficiently developed, inasmuch as—and this law of history, enunciated by Taine, is subject to no exception—the activities of our own generation can be fruitful in happy results only on the condition that they are in harmony with the modest efforts of former generations. The law of evolution is as operative in the field of humanity as it is in the field of nature. The coming generations, when they are told that the work of righteousness and enlightenment, which they attempt to carry through, has been vaguely desired and clearly foreseen by

their forefathers, will comprehend better how, before being human individuals, they are citizens of one country, how, if they wish to see their country march on the paths of glory and honour in the future, they should never think of breaking the chain of which they form, as it were, but the temporary links.

However that be, owing to one of those strange incidents in which literary history abounds—no doubt, because these two series of circumstances, having their origin in different causes, so ally themselves with each other under a freak of fortune as to appear to be dependent on each other—this centenary becomes more significant by the fact that it coincides with the well-merited rehabilitation in popular opinion and esteem of the author of the *Contemplations* and of the *Voix Intérieures*.

Hardly one day elapsed, after the disappearance from the public sight by death of this rare artist, ending his life, a grey-haired and honoured old man, and after the imposing funeral ceremony—a ceremony which, in our opinion, would have been more imposing if it had been less theatrical and more solemn—when this apotheosis, so essentially in harmony with the marvellous character of the poet who was thus glorified even to canonisation, was replaced by the spirit of analysis in the French mind, always Cartesian by nature. The poems, the dramas and the romances, which it had formerly admired so unreservedly, it now began to re-read and annotate with the evident, and what was perhaps to itself the pleasant, prepossession of detecting their weak side. Critics of all types guided the steps of the discontented. What had at first been the paradoxes of the literati of the left soon became the opinions of the centre, till the day when the orthodox university with its authoritative verdict rendered this concert of reprobation almost universal. In the first series of the *Études Littéraires* of M. E. Rod, in the fourth volume of the *Contemporains* of M. Jules Lemaitre, in the *XIX^{me} siècle* of M. Emile Faguet—to confine myself to only three examples without forgetting a score of other minor writers—one might find harangues against Victor Hugo's work, the virulence of which, based though it be on his own writings, betrays a most lamentable partiality.

The perusal of one of these studies would give us a pretty good idea of their virulence. We will select that of a writer who, if death had not cut short his career, would have probably been the Taine of

our generation ; and we select it since it is anterior in date to most of those which we could cite, and since it anticipates even at that early period, under a relatively moderate form, the best arguments which so many critics were to reiterate on their own score. Emile Hennequin—a name to be kept in mind—taxes Victor Hugo, in the first place, with too often mistaking images (fancies) for ideas, and, in the next place, with repeating the ideas, whenever, perchance, he hits upon some, so often and with such frequent reiteration, that, though they may undoubtedly pass off with many, they do not succeed in concealing from the eyes of the more observant the insufficiency of his analytical enquiries. Lastly, he adds quite naturally, “to these two peculiarities of style—images and repetition of ideas—a third, the most apparent of all—antithesis.” Six pages suffice for the critic to demonstrate that this last feature of Hugo’s style throws great light on the æsthetics and psychology of the writer. There can be no doubt that the wonderful versifier of the *Orientales* is often carried away by an eloquence that borders on prolixity, that often, to use a scholastic expression, the matter is inferior to the form in his works ; but we can by no means conclude with Hennequin that “this poverty of thought hidden under the wealth of expression makes the work of the poet an uneven whole, from which humanity and the living, tangible world are almost, if not entirely, excluded ; that the imagination of the artist, neglecting to draw upon the active sources of poetic invention, rapidly sinks to the false and the commonplace,” and that, in fact, “if there is any title which Victor Hugo has undeservedly assumed, it is that of a thinker.”

In short, the thesis of Emile Hennequin, which was taken up later on by Jules Lemaitre, Emile Faguet and so many others, consists in seeing in the greatest lyric poet of France only a rhetorician—an admirable rhetorician, these gentlemen admit—whose genius, purely verbal, was in essential harmony with the multitudes whose vain and contradictory aspirations he translated into a grandiose language which had the thrill of persuasion about it. “It was his great good fortune to differ from his compatriots and contemporaries only in the form into which he threw the peculiarly French traditional ideas. This peculiar difference was something pardonable and at the same time glorious.”

Apparently there must be no appeal from this verdict. It

collects the data of observation in indissoluble groups, and the laws of logic govern the least operations of this merciless analysis. The more I read it, however, the less does it explain the genius of Victor Hugo in my view. It reminds me rather of one of those lectures in medicine, in which the professor, after describing with minute precision the mechanism of the human organism, stops abruptly at the threshold of the enigma of life. The blood, the muscles and the nerves—their constituents, functions and duration he is in a position to describe; but the reason or cause which sets them in movement and makes them vibrate, in one word, which endows them with life, he can never explain. No doubt, in the literary case which is before us, the critics have explained the processes of the artist and the habits of the thinker, but at the end of the analysis, have they not to stop dumb before the enigma of genius, like the surgeons before the enigma of life? Each of us, if he tried to make the attempt, could find, in fact, other poets who carried repetitions, images, and antitheses to excess, could name other thinkers who were in close touch with the sympathies and antipathies of the majority of their countrymen; but at the same time, none of them, I am sure, would appear to you of an intellectual order sufficiently high to stand comparison with the author of the *Légende des Siècles*. On the other hand, if you think of comparing Victor Hugo with those who, in other centuries and in other countries, obtained a degree of renown—very similar, if not equal, to his—you will soon be obliged to recognise that these others were great, even unique, in their own environment, but for reasons absolutely different from those which, according to these critics, solve the enigma of the genesis of this genius.

Is it to be inferred that nothing can be derived from these minute studies? No! The majority of these analysts were clear-sighted, but carried away by their tastes—for antipathy will never have the clear-sightedness of sympathy—they could or would but distinguish one side of the question, but one aspect of this many-sided soul, but one out of the thousand faces of this Hydra. They delighted in seeking out in the work of him, who wrote the *Rayons et les Ombres*, the shadows which they purposely exaggerated, whilst their eyes remained blind to the sun, the dazzling rays of which will continue from age to age to excite the admiration of the votaries of beauty.

Moreover, by the side of these professors who did not leave in peace one verse or one line of the colossal work, other writers, in as bad a spirit, set about examining with a magnifying glass the public and private career of the poet. This is because, in France, literary society is so constituted that, in spite of interviews of all kinds, with which our journals are filled, we have only very vague notions of the private life even of our best known contemporaries, since we are hardly allowed any information except what it suits interested parties to give us. With regard to the author of *Hernani*, the unique source during several years was the three volumes entitled *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*. As this anonymous writer was called Madame Jeanne Hugo, and as in any case it is obvious that her pen was constantly watched, lest it might allow something to escape that might be out of harmony with the legend which the poet wanted to substitute for the reality, the inference forces itself on us that such a biography resembles history as much as the photographs, to use a figure, posted up on the doors of theatres, resemble the faces of the comedians who grace the stage. The pencil of the artist who puts the finishing touches has effaced the wrinkles, and attenuated the defects, so that the faces, without losing their resemblance to the originals, appear in the end no more as they are, but as they ought to be, to attain to the type of beauty to which they scarcely approach even at a distance.

The defect of such works is that they always create their counterparts. The accusations of caricaturists are sufficient to counterbalance the flattery of the photographers, but to re-establish the truth revised and corrected by the three volumes of the anonymous witness, it is necessary to have the patience of a Benedictine with the erudition of a Chartriste. Unfortunately, the violent impulse of a pamphleteer led M. Edmond Biré to undertake this very indispensable work, so that he who might have been the Aristarchus of this new Homer would appear to have been reduced to the part of a Zoilus. It must be acknowledged, however, that M. Biré is rarely wrong in his exposition of facts; his loyalty prevents him from the intentional commission of an act of historical injustice; but his animosity takes an unjust revenge by means of the deductions which his ingenuity enables him to draw from apparently well-intentioned acts and writings.

There are of course two ways of interpreting the career of all those who have made a figure in the world either by word or by deed. Now, what right have we to pose as censors of those whose chief fault was, in fact, not to share in our tastes and opinions? Are we not lacking in the most necessary of all theological virtues, when we attribute obscure intentions, and give ambiguous attitudes, to others? As one who loses no opportunity to assert himself as a Catholic in practice, M. Biré ought to have been the last to yield to this regrettable tendency to which we are, alas! too much inclined. As a true Catholic, at least, he should have felt uneasy, in works so conspicuous by the absence of charity, at those words of the Master, "Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged."—Matthew, chapter vii. 5. How infinitely more clear sighted and judicial is the mind which attempts to understand the sympathy which explains the solutions of continuity instead of exaggerating them! We owe to Madame de Stael this beautiful thought: "A faculty of understanding everything makes people very indulgent" If M. Biré had endeavoured to understand the causes of the different religious, political, and literary *avatars* of Victor Hugo, instead of persevering in accentuating their antitheses, he would have undoubtedly displayed more Christian indulgence in his works. After him, as much as after Madame Hugo, the biography of Victor Hugo has still to be written.

That the fiery youth of the *Orientales*, who took such delight in conjuring up, in suggestive poses, Nourmahal, the Red-haired, and Sarah, the Bath-keeper; the mature man who—after having composed the *Chants du Crépuscule*, was not slow in returning to the theme of the *Tristesse d'Olympio*—the old man who occupied his later years in transcribing in splendid verses the ambitious flights of his prophet soul and the puerile observations of that *Art d'être grand'père* whose sub-title would be *ou des moyens de gâter ses petits enfants*, that, in the course of a life particularly abounding in transitions and changes, this husband, this father, this grandfather, may not have been a perfect example of all the virtues, is what we could sufficiently understand without the help of any one, on re-reading with attention the works he has left behind. In spite of her touching conviction and her guarded ingenuity, the anonymous witness could not succeed in deluding us. But between that and

the conclusion of M. Biré, that we are in the presence of a *faux grand-père, a faux brave homme*, one of the most intolerable literary notoriety-hunters, there is an impassable gulf. He who wishes to prove too much proves n thing at all, as the sages of all nations have said. Claiming to judge without appeal this tumultuous career, M. Biré has simply indicated—and there was here no quadrature of the circle to be discovered—that the author of *Hernani* was in his every-day life a man very much like the average honest people of his generation, whose weakness and strength he shared even to blindness. I am afraid that this was not the real aim of this new Cato of Rouen; as a matter of fact, thanks to him, I have better understood the genesis and range of this genius; and I have taken to love him the more, feeling him more like ourselves.

II.

Now, what sort of intellectual satisfaction can we derive from Victor Hugo's work, if we want to appreciate its admirable superiority? In other words, in what domain was this genius so habitually magnificent—wholly exceptional, belonging to the predestined race of a Dante, a Goethe and a Shakespeare? Can we see in Victor Hugo a philosopher, as M. Renouvier, in his volume of 300 pages, and many others, after him, who have repeated the arguments which he develops with such persuasive sincerity, try to make us believe? I do not think so, simply for the reason that his philosophical works, whether they be in prose or in verse, contradict each other so often, that it becomes impossible, without the arbitrary use of subtleties, to deduce one doctrine deserving of the fine name of philosophy by its depth or universality. A Catholic, at first, in some of his poetical pieces, which lack too much of the experience of life, as *e.g.*, the *Regard jeté dans une mansarde*, the poet was soon to write with a golden pen the pantheistical reveries of his masterpiece the *Satyre*, and the stoical counsels of his austere stanzas in the *Malheureux*. Then turn by turn, and even simultaneously, he was to offer to the disciple of Zoroaster and of Plato *Ce que dit la Bouche d'ombre*, to the humanitarians and to the socialists *Mélancholia* or *Stella*. Poems like the *Ane*, where he tries to sum up all human knowledge, bristle with conclusions with which no thinker can be said to be satisfied. The vague deism, so grandiosely developed in the last passages of the *Contemplations*, and even the often cited expression in his

testament, "I refuse the prayers of all churches—I ask one from every soul," appear, however superficially you may consider the words, to belong to a rather abstract understanding.

If Victor Hugo may be definitely said to have possessed a sufficiently wide knowledge of the history of philosophy and the history of religions, it cannot be added that he brought into the studies or poems which their knowledge inspired in him the methodical treatment of a well-balanced judgment or the guidance of steady principles. He sang and anathematised these metaphysics rather than judged or completed them. A thinker he certainly was. You do not submit your intelligence, for sixty years, to the spiritual gymnastics which the comprehension of so many systems and the discovery of so many theologies presuppose, without deserving this title of intellectual *noblesse*. But something more is meant when he is called a philosopher, because what precisely places the latter above the former is that the first, still a pupil of the thoughts of others, confines himself to understanding and comparing ; the second, a master already amongst masters, succeeds, amongst the thick jungles of contradictory ideas, in cutting out a way for himself and pursuing it to the end without deviation or failure. Such was not the case with Victor Hugo, whose thoughts, on the contrary, under the inspiration of circumstances, adopted or rejected the most contradictory systems. Has he not confessed in lines which have the pathos of Beethoven?—

Tout souffle, tout rayon ou propice ou fatal,
Fait reluire et vibrer mon âme de cristal,
Mon âme aux mille voix, que le Dieu que j'adore
Met au centre de tout comme un écho sonore.

The vague humanitarian deism, with which he ended, seems to me, in fact, only the "écho sonore" of the uncertain, though passionate, aspirations of the 19th century French people.

When we notice that the poet of the *Odes et Ballades* became that of the *Chatiments* before being the poet of the *Année terrible*, can we conclude with others that Victor Hugo, playing an active part in the national crisis that almost imperilled the future of this country, clothed himself with such political importance that his glory as an artist, balanced by his patriotism as a citizen, became peculiarly attenuated and truly auxiliary ? I am the less persuaded

of it, because whoever will establish this opinion ought, in the first place, to explain under what circumstances and for what causes the royalist who sang the *Baptême du Duc de Bordeaux* became the Bonapartist of the *Ode à la Colonne*, and in the next place, through what other causes the Republican of the *Manteau impérial* ended by lending his clarion voice to the worst Utopias of socialism. Without paying attention to M. Biré, when he claims to discover the motives, selfish or otherwise, of these abrupt *avatars*, it must be acknowledged that a policy thus deprived of stability, though it may be the mark of a soul instinctively reaching out to what it believes to be the truth, as the butterfly desires the light, scarcely proves—and the analogy I have chosen shows it too well—the well-balanced mind of a true statesman.

The apologists explain this circumstance, or believe they can explain it, by repeating that if, in fact, Victor Hugo several times changed his views, it was only to extend the circle of his thoughts, to develop the field of his activity; briefly, that we can trace his progress from year to year by help of the transitions in his thoughts. The various civic declarations that he had made one after another would have been honestly forsaken by him only when his thoughts in their development had succeeded in discovering their limits and correcting their errors. Such a conclusion is based on two premisses, which everyone will not equally be ready to accept. The first is that in the domain of politics, the Republican idea is superior to the Monarchical idea, whether the latter be based on hereditary right or on a *coup d'état*; the second being that this Republican idea ought to be carried to its logical consequences, if it is to be apprehended in its full meaning. But for all those—and they are legion—who are of a different opinion, the forward march of the poet becomes, if not a retreat, at least a march dependent on the favour of fortune and directed to a singularly uncertain end, by sentiment rather than principle. What is in fact this programme which Victor Hugo offers to his descendants as the goal of human thought? In a poem that was selected from amongst a thousand for the ceremony at the Pantheon, because it seemed to contain the testament of that political creed, the *vates-prophète* exclaims :

The one that follows me,
The one that first sets me on the onward path,
Is the angel Liberty, the giant light !

Of course these are noble guides, but it is to be feared they will not always dictate advice, just and suited to the times. In literature, the true statesman, by whatever name he calls himself, Machiavelli or Montesquieu, has rarely had such fine phrases, much less often such noble inspiration; but let us add there is, and must exist, a truer view of contingencies and present exigencies, and more method, above all, in the sequences of his action and in the evolution of his doctrines.

Let it be remembered that in my view the fact, that Victor Hugo does not possess the genius of a philosopher or of a statesman, in no way militates against his greatness. If the question were only of a statesman or a pure thinker, that desideratum would be undeniable. But we have not to deal, as I know, with a Thiers or an Auguste Comte. A man of letters, in his early manhood as in his old age—a man of letters so exclusively, that one might say that all other careers into which destiny had launched him counted for nothing—such was Victor Hugo. In other words, he took to politics and to philosophy as he did to drawing—as an amateur.

His inbred, irresistible vocation was literature, and nothing else than literature. In the same way that Goethe remains none the less a Goethe, though he may have revealed himself as a sufficiently tolerable scientist in his fantastic theory of colours, so Victor Hugo is none the less a Victor Hugo, though he may have displayed good intentions in his various attempts at completing the work of our philosophers and historians.

But is not poetry still too large a field for a man, even were he a genius, to tread the whole of it? Like life, the soul has its limits; and it is to be feared that if the means will not, at any rate the time will, be wanting to the most audacious who would climb the different summits which these rarely explored lands offer to their courage. Following many a path, as he did, in which one—for the brevity of our lives does not allow us to explore more than one—has he reached even to the summits inaccessible to ordinary humanity? To claim that Victor Hugo was *par excellence* the poet of his generation is to be very vague. To be more precise it is necessary to add that he was either its dramatic poet, or epic poet, or lyric poet. As his never-failing inspiration always seemed ready to flow indifferently into drama, or ode, or epic, it would be necessary to

discern which of these three initial forms of all poetry is best suited to the buoyancy of his genius. It is to be supposed, besides, that his imagination, like the character lacking a direction, for which the poet is so much the more condemned, as he belongs to a higher intellectual order—that his tendencies, his instinctive tastes, complicated and completed by the thousand circumstances of education and environment, must have led him, without his being aware of it, to reduce these three primitive forms to that in which his creative intellect would naturally have asserted itself, if his will had not prompted him to other tasks. A glance thrown on these richly coloured dramas, on these long-winded novels, on all those poetical works, rich in an astonishingly florid diction, reveals to us these facts with a clearness which people have not hitherto turned to good account. The dramatic works of him who rhymed *Hernani* and *Ruy-Blas*, the creation of patient ambition—the history of his life shows it amply—though once it was the most glorious part of his work, does not by this time appear to be the most durable. Victor Hugo, however, excelled in finding unexpected situations, and I will repeat here that he could lend to the passions of his heroines words of everlasting interest. How was it that the public so soon became indifferent to these dramas? How is it that out of the ten or twelve dramas which he wrote, the two quoted above are the only ones that have gained the distinction of being frequently performed? And why again, for example, as M. Brunetière has pointed out, is it that the *Burgraves* which, when read, is one of Victor Hugo's best plays, makes such a different impression when performed?

The question would give rise to long comments. To be brief, let us confine ourselves to the remark that those desperate situations and tragical characters, instead of being dramatically treated, as ought to be the case in a drama, are, on the contrary, described in a lyric strain. Instead of witnessing the agonising struggle of several feelings, each wanting to get the foremost rank, we see and hear only the outpourings of a single soul, that of the poet, whose voice, more eloquent than passionate, ends in getting tired of expressing so many contradictory sentiments. So that when the situation heightens in interest, the writer, forgetting that his aim was to be a dramatist, soon sacrifices the details of the plot he has selected to the expression, in universal terms, of the themes of love, patriotism, or death suggested

by those details. In *Hernani*, has not the scene of the portraits all the charms of an ode on Castilian honour? Shall I call to my mind the invocation of Don Carlos to Charlemagne, or *Hernani's* meditations on hatred? However admirable these passages may be—and you will find such in each of these dramas—they tell us too little of the moral and social identities of the persons who pronounce them, whilst they have the great fault of retarding the march of the already faulty action, bristling with many a break. It has been said that the romances and elegies of *Dona Sol* would not be out of place in a collection of lyrics. In that collection they would be more appropriate than in a drama, since they depict less the state of mind proper to *Dona Sol*, niece and betrothed to Ruy de Silva, than an anonymous soul of a young woman in love, ready to sacrifice her life for her passion. The more he is studied, the more the dramas of Victor Hugo appear as the meritorious, but unfortunate, effort of a sovereign genius, who, carried away by the impulse of his lyrical temperament, succeeds only now and then in maintaining his essentially subjective inspiration in the narrow mould of dramatic literature.

It is Pegasus who, with bounds divine,
Prances undaunted and immense.

He is submissive and docile only to him who, with the lyre in his hand, drives him into the abyss beyond the reach of human mind.

The same phenomenon is to be observed in the epic fragments of the *Légende des Siècles* and in all the romances, which are poems in prose, where precise documents, collected together by the patience of the man of letters, side by side with the incessant digressions of the poet, carried away by Pegasus "into the abyss beyond the reach of human mind," make a very curious impression on the reader. Is it necessary to quote from the *Misérables* the summaries of history, the apocalyptic variations used as headings of the different books, or from *Notre Dame de Paris* the marvellous symphony of words suggested by the Gothic towers? Whether it be in his legends, in his poems in verse, or romances in prose, relating to past ages or the present century, has not Victor Hugo proposed to himself, like Leconte de Lisle in his *Poèmes Barbares*, the task of "retracing the sublimest pages of the human epopee, flying through countless ages towards Liberty and the Light"? But whilst the latter, an epic poet properly so called, succeeded to the best of his ability in effacing his

personality from his works, and in restoring to each century its physiognomy and its characteristic thoughts, Victor Hugo, on the contrary, experienced always the greatest difficulty in abstracting his own self from his works, and wisely confined himself, whenever the ideal of the epoch he dealt with was not in conformity with his own affinities, to creating a tableau in which his inspiration could range at full liberty.

The *Rose de l'Infante* has been called a "Velasquez," and the *Satyre* a "Carrache." The enumeration might be continued in the same strain: *Booz endormi* might appear a "Raphaël," *La Première rencontre du Christ avec le mort* a "Guido Reni," and the *Conscience* a "Michael Angelo"; so manifest it is that past centuries are for this artist only a museum, where his visionary eyes seem to be occupied only in discovering unforeseen motives with new variations for the eternal themes of lyric poetry. That sometimes, in certain more elaborate pieces, the writer has succeeded in maintaining the equilibrium between the historical theme and the lyrical commentary, might perhaps, in the eyes of some, give to this hypothesis the brilliancy of a paradox. But let those people take the trouble to examine the pieces more closely, innumerable as they are, in the *Légende des Siècles*, where the least detail—a faded rose, a dying toad, a sphinx of granite—serves as a good pretext for grandiose and verbally profuse improvisations, so rare that one doubts whether ever poet, before or after him, could write up to his level, and they will immediately have felt the original superiority of this poet, in which he is unique, and in the Latin sense of that word, truly divine.

Later on, when the laws will allow editors to make choice selections from this unequal mass—one cannot go down to posterity with 82 volumes—I suspect that the romances, the travels, and all the prose works in a general way, will be less and less reprinted. The elimination will grow more strict from year to year likewise in the 34 volumes of poetry; but if nothing or very little of the dramatic and epic poet remains, I am convinced that the whole of the purely lyrical work will live as long as human tongues will speak the French language, and even beyond that, as long as scholars live to decipher the language we write. The reason is that warlike odes like the *Retour de l'Empereur* or the *Expiation*, funeral songs like the *Tristesse d'Olympio* or *Océano nox*, pages of love and beauty, like the greater part of the *Chansons des Rues et des Bois*—and I cite two

or three from amongst hundreds of instances—will ever remain in truth a species of miracle in their extravagant and apocalyptic beauty. To give the praise they deserve to these works, exceptional in the history of our own, and even of all literature, I could do nothing better than repeat with another: "To attempt to vie with Victor Hugo is to soar on the waxen wings of Dædalus and to wish to give his name to the transparent sea. As a torrent swollen by storm rushes down the mountains and overflows its usual channels, so likewise the genius of Victor Hugo flows with profound heavings. Apollo's laurels deserve to grace his head, whether in his bold dithyrambs he opens up the sources of a new language and winds through disorderly rhythms, or sings of the gods and the heroes descended from the gods; whether he glorifies the Emperor and the steed which victory brings back from Austerlitz, covered with the immortal palm, and raises to them a monument more durable than a hundred statues, or bewails a young bride snatched from a desolate husband, and saves her from the infernal darkness by extolling her beauty, her virtue, and her morals worthy of the golden age. A strong wind always helps on the eagle of Besançon whenever it soars up into the skies." The admirable Latin text might be perceived underlying this awkwardly worded passage.

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari.
Jule, cerates ope Daedalea,
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus.
Nomina ponto. . . .

Is it not significant that only the change of some proper name is required in order that the famous verses, in which old Horace claimed to glorify the author of the *Parthénées* and of the *Dithyrambes*, may be line for line applied to the author of the *Contemplations* and the *Châtiments*? Is it not a proof added to the former, and to all those which you can recall to your minds with me, that you are face to face with the French Pindar, and even in the whole *acceptation* (extent) of that comparison, with a new Pindar? To mark off the most salient character of Victor Hugo's genius, let us acknowledge in him one of the greatest lyric poets that humanity can boast of.

THE HIGHER LEARNING IN INDIA AND THE TATA SCHEME.

PREFATORY NOTE BY SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY.

[MAJOR GRANT has rightly expressed my views when he suggests that the recommendations in my report were made on the understanding that no very large annual income would be available for the Institute, at least at first. On general grounds, of course, to supply the needs of a population as large as that of Europe, Russia excluded, an Institute of learning and research in all branches of knowledge, such as was indicated by Major Grant in his original address, must recommend itself to every thinking man. But to establish an Institute on such lines as his would have required at least five or six times the income which, I was informed, was likely to be placed at the disposal of the Committee. The immediately practical question, therefore, arose:—In what way can the most pressing needs of India be best supplied? During my too short stay in India, I was impressed by two facts: first, that most of the population supports itself by agriculture, and that the relative proportion of manufacture to agriculture, in comparison with Europe or America, is insignificant; and, second, that the raw products of India, which, so far as I could ascertain, are very considerable in amount, have either not been exploited, or, like the Kolar gold-fields, are in the hands of English companies, or are exported in an unmanufactured state; in the last case, they leave the country without producing any equivalent in wealth, except in so far as the labour required to collect them and to transport them to a port of shipment may be regarded as productive. Impelled by these considerations, I recommended a scheme by means of which I hoped that industries dealing with raw products would be established in the country; granting the success of the attempt, an educated class of manufacturers would gradually be created, while, at the same time, employment would be given to a large army of persons who are at present directly dependent on the soil for their livelihood.]

The creation of a comparatively wealthy class of men would, in the course of a generation or two, be followed by the springing into being of a leisured class interested in learning for its own sake. And it is my hope that, by the efforts of this leisured class, the Institute will become complete, and be developed on all sides.

Major Grant, whose experience of Indian conditions is incomparably greater than mine, holds the view that the country is ripe for the wider scheme. Far be it from me to gainsay him ; but I still believe that if the income of the Institute is not very largely supplemented, a start can best be made on the lines laid down in my report to the Committee.]

SOME three years ago, when the question as to the most appropriate means of utilising Mr. Tata's munificent bequest in aid of the higher learning was under consideration, I had the honour to deliver an address in which I reviewed the whole matter at some length, after a careful examination of all the papers connected with the subject. From the nature of their reception when put into print, I had reason to believe that the opinions therein expressed met with a large measure of approval from the educated public, especially from those persons more immediately concerned with the carrying out of the Founder's desires. Since that time several other contributions to the discussion have been made, of which the two most important are the special reports submitted by Professor Ramsay, of University College, London, and by Professor Masson, of Australia, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clibborn, I.S.C., respectively. Owing to my absence from India I am not certain as to the exact state of matters at present, but it appears to have been more or less finally arranged, firstly, that the Institute is to be located at Bangalore ; secondly, that it shall be designated *The Indian Institute of Science* ; and, thirdly, that its functions are to be limited, for the present anyway, to work done in connection with three of the experimental sciences, so-called, viz., chemistry, physics and biology. Assuming that the foregoing statements, made in the public press, are accurate, it appears to me that advantage may well be taken of the present opportunity to ascertain, in a general way, the extent to which the above-mentioned propositions comply with the original suggestions in the *Outline of a Scheme for an Institute of Research in India*, put

forth by the Provisional Local Committee in accordance with the expressed desires of the Founder.

As regards the determination to locate the Institute at Bangalore, there is little to say save that the matter is one for sincere congratulation. As one who has paid considerable attention to the climates of India, and is also acquainted with what may be designated the climatic postulates for scientific work, I have all along agreed with those who regard Bangalore as being, *ceteris paribus*, the most suitable place in India for such an Institution. In his report Professor Ramsay wrote, plainly enough, "I unreservedly select Bangalore as an ideal site for such an Institution." In the report submitted by Professor Masson and Colonel Clibborn a most unfortunate series of statements regarding the climate of Bangalore was permitted to appear, but it is satisfactory to know that the substantial inaccuracy of these statements has been demonstrated effectively by those in a position to do so. The idea of Bangalore being "distinctly enervating, even in November," is decidedly humorous, whilst the remark of another writer, who has apparently never been in the Madras Presidency, that from what he has been "told by persons who should know" the climate of Penang Hill is very similar to the best parts of the Madras Presidency, is even more humorous. The briefest reference to the figures and opinions recorded by Blandford would have served to prevent the promulgation of such mis-statements. It appears to have been a case of *aut Rurki aut nihil*!

Secondly, as to the *name* of the Institution, about which there has been so much discussion, the final outcome seems to be that the title selected must correspond as nearly as possible with the scope of the work undertaken. If the latter is to be really limited to the extent foreshadowed above, *viz.*, three of the experimental sciences, then the title Indian Institute of Science is amply sufficient. Should, however, larger views prevail, ultimately, I am still of opinion that University of India is the preferable name, in spite of the threatened "opposition" referred to by Professor Ramsay. And when I plead for the word University it is, of course, in the wider, modern sense of that term; but in any case the matter is a relatively unimportant one.

It is upon the third point, *viz.*, the *scope* of the Institute, that I wish more particularly to dwell, in the hope that it is not yet too

late to influence those in whose hands the final decision really lies. A recent article in an Indian newspaper contained the following passage :—

Nor can the delay be described as lost time altogether, for in this period of discussion and negotiation much has been done to bring the scheme to its proper perspective and proportions. The scale and scope attributed to it in the first flush of exuberant public enthusiasm have been shown to be Utopian and unpractical, and the “dry light” of criticism and advice shed upon it, first by Professor Ramsay, and more lately by Professor Masson and Colonel Clibborn, has resulted in more sane conceptions generally.

To the ordinary reader this can mean only one thing, viz., that the writers of the reports referred to did not, and do not, believe in the present possibility or usefulness of an institution in India, planned on the lines originally suggested, and that their ambitions are limited to the proposals contained between the covers of their reports. Such an idea I believe to be decidedly misleading. Roughly speaking, the reports appear to me to contain simply an expression of the writers' opinions as to how an institution with a guaranteed income of £10,000 per annum could most appropriately expend that sum in developing the material resources of the country. It is, in effect, as if some one had said to them, “Pay no attention to any expressed wishes or written opinions. These fine schemes are all very well in theory, but let us show that we, at least, are practical men. Imagine that you have to deal with a capital expenditure of, say, £50,000 and an income of £10,000. You have enough cloth out of which to make a fairly decent suit, and, between ourselves, if the suit is a bit skimpy it cannot be helped, we are not going to help you out with any cloth from our establishment !” But this, I contend, is a very different thing to the conclusion arrived at in the article above quoted, that Professor Ramsay or Professor Masson is of opinion that nothing better or greater is feasible. Such a view might be expected from some men trained in a different school, with minds so attuned by practice to “allotments” and “proposition statements” as to persuade themselves the Heavens must fall in the event of any departure from recognised methods of procedure. I cannot persuade myself that, say, Professor Ramsay would admit that a scheme of this nature, if it is to be regarded as a “sane conception,” must

performance be so bounded or limited. That this was not the view of the original Committee is obvious from their estimate of an annual expenditure of three lakhs—not one. Personally speaking, it was against the adoption of this point of view, which its advocates would probably designate as “common sense,” that I originally protested in the following words :—

Once more, I presume that the desire of the Founder is to evolve a scheme which shall to a maximum degree benefit the taught and, at the same time, contribute largely to the moral and material progress of India. For the successful carrying out of this idea the first essential is a healthy, generous enthusiasm, the outcome of a faith in the potentialities of the case. Nothing great and nothing lasting was ever done without a profound belief that the thing attempted was possible. This, of course, is a thing quite apart from fanaticism or undue credulity begotten, both, of ignorance. In addition to the element of faith, the enthusiasm I speak of demands that sustained transformation of potential into kinetic mental energy, which is so apt to cease almost entirely under the numbing influence of official routine. If there is one thing we in India suffer from more than another, it is what I have elsewhere called “tropical languor,” begotten partly of the climate, partly of the country and the customs of its races, and partly of the security of official posts. It is true that occasionally things are done in too great a hurry, probably owing to the presence on the spot of a forceful personality who has the power to order, and is tired of endless reports and suggestions : far more frequently, however, one sees things quite needlessly *deferred* and *referred*, and changed and altered to a degree past all belief by those who have not witnessed it. Let us not doubt, therefore, that, broadly speaking, this scheme, as outlined by the committee, is workable and is destined, in its fulfilment, to be productive of immense good.

The whole spirit of the original *Outline of a Scheme for an Institute of Research in India* is also against the adoption of any such artificial barrier, and I have entirely failed to find evidence that the “scale and scope attributed to the scheme in the first flush of exuberant public enthusiasm have been shewn to be Utopian and unpractical.” By whom has this been demonstrated, and where ? Professors Ramsay and Masson have shewn that only a certain amount can be accomplished with £10,000 a year, but that is a very different thing to the conclusion that to attempt anything further would be Utopian and unpractical. Truly it may be said in this

case, also, *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*, that is, *ridiculus* when regarded relatively.

The only reference to the question as to the scope of the Institute, apart from practical details in regard to the expenditure of £10,000, that I have come across, is contained in the first page of Masson and Clibborn's conjoint report, the second paragraph of which is as follows: "It was at first proposed that the Institute should deal with a wide range of studies—practically all those capable of treatment by scientific methods. But it became apparent that so large a scheme could not be carried out with the available funds, and it was decided to deal only with a few of the experimental sciences. In our opinion this is both necessary and advisable at the outset, though it may well be hoped that ultimately something like the full original plan may be carried out." Under the circumstances Professor Masson could hardly do otherwise than bow to the 'decision' communicated to him, but, as I read it, that concluding clause expresses, with official restraint, a belief that, given more funds, a great deal more could be done. Be that as it may, I presume that no one ever imagined that so large a scheme *could* be carried out with the available funds. The reasonable supposition was that, seeing the splendid offer of Mr. Tata, there would not be wanting those in India who, grasping the immense possibilities for good thus opened up, would do all in their power to double, if need be, the original gift, thus rendering it clear, at least, that the scheme would not be sacrificed for want of a generous response to the donor's challenge.

"In our opinion," to quote the second report again, "this [limitation] is both necessary and advisable at the outset, though it may well be hoped that ultimately something like the full original plan may be carried out." *Why* necessary? *Why* advisable? I would like to hear the *pros* and *cons* for the limitation, apart from the question of funds, discussed in open assembly. To me it seems as if those who fixed the limit had said to Mr. Tata, "We'll do what we can with your money: if the thing succeeds we'll risk some of ours (*i.e.*, of the Public's); if it fails, well, there is no harm done, from our point of view!" Of course, such a position is perfectly orthodox, morally speaking, but it does not strike one as, say, generous or enthusiastic. There is no question of "gambling with

the public money," for the risk is, after all, practically negligible, whilst the object aimed at is a far more worthy one than many others for which money is lavishly granted.

Let any impartial, well-educated person read carefully the two letters of Professor Geddes on *The Best University for India*, and say whether he is not the better for having done so, whether he does not feel that here is a man with whom, doubtless, one may find occasion to disagree, but who understands, nevertheless, what true education means, who realises that "man shall not live by bread alone," and that any attempt to create an artificial distinction between "useful" and "other" sciences, any attempt to eliminate the moral from the material in the educational scheme of a nation, is fore-doomed to end in failure to attain the object aimed at, *i.e.*, individual and, consequently, racial or national betterment. Are such ideas too 'large' for India; too 'unpractical' to find favour; too generous to be entitled 'sane conceptions'? One can only hope that it is not so, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating. For American *trusts* and *combines* one may have little respect, but at least one can admire the wonderful grasp of the factors of commerce and finance, the resource and dash of the men who bring them into being. They, indeed, can be said to seize their opportunities, and to apprehend the possibilities of any given case. Cannot we in India apply something of the same faith and daring in a better cause; cannot we rise above the cheap condemnation of a scheme, largely conceived and most generously endowed, as being "Utopian"? So far from its being Utopian, I am persuaded that we might in a few years possess a headquarters of learning in India, which would compel the homage of the truly learned in all countries. Granted that such an idea is still a dream; it is at least a dream worthy of respect and which, given the enthusiasm and encouragement it rightly deserves, could be translated into a reality. For it is idle to say, even by implication, that a man like the dreamer of that dream does not appreciate the difficulties to be overcome, or that he is unwilling to back his opinion: his life and his gift alike give the lie to such assertions. We do not want the "dry light" of criticism, or only secondarily so: what is required in the first instance, and afterwards, is the glow of enthusiasm, the hearty response to a noble ideal.

Let us hope that wiser counsels may prevail, and that this Coronation Year shall mark the commencement of an epoch in the moral and material progress of India, an epoch in which the energies of those summoned to the work will be devoted to the *complete* filling in of that "gap at the upper end" of the educational scheme which so speedily attracted the attention, and condemnation, of our present Viceroy, and, incidentally, to the true progress of India. Thirty lakhs, or twice thirty lakhs, would appear none too liberal a contribution from the Indian Empire for the attainment of such a consummation, did those concerned apprehend the vastness of the issues at stake, issues immensely greater than the training of a few technical experts in the creation of one or two fresh industries. I make no pretence of being a deep student of "history," but if there is one thing which I have learned it is that the real greatness of a nation—that greatness which is the envy of enlightened posterity—has never yet been secured by the worship of an ideal founded solely, or even mainly, upon material prosperity. I do not despise the latter : on the contrary, I fully admit its great importance ; but let us not unduly exalt it whilst excluding or ignoring the uplifting influence of all that ministers to the growth of a whole mind in a whole body !

A. E. GRANT.

INDIAN JOURNALISM.

THE special correspondent in India of the *Times* of London recently devoted two long articles to a criticism of the indigenous Indian Press ; and Lord Curzon, speaking at the Convocation of the Calcutta University as its Chancellor, discoursed on the same theme. Both appeared to be impressed with the importance and growing influence of this mighty engine of modern civilisation in its operation in India and in the hands of Indians. But what has impressed them, more than its importance and influence, is its imperfections, its drawbacks and its failings. The time is not very remote, when even in England journalism was regarded with so much disfavour and abhorrence that the House of Commons spent much of its time in wrangles with the Press, and when it was not at all unusual to summon editors of newspapers to the bar of the House, and to commit them to the Clock Tower to be confined there during the session of the Parliament. But this stage has long passed, and the British press has become a national institution, and the very breath of political and social life. Those who belong to it are now honoured by the King and the nation ; they are raised to the highest dignities in the State. They now become Members of Parliament, ministers of State, and peers of the realm. In India, this stage of toleration and appreciation has not yet been reached ; and this is at once the cause and the effect of the general backwardness and shortcomings of the Indian Press. The conviction that the Press is an inevitable adjunct of civilised Government is yet foreign to the minds of the official and the ruling classes generally in India. By a few, indeed, it is regarded as a source of information and help. By a good many it is regarded as being of questionable utility, while some regard it as a positive nuisance.

In India nothing is of greater importance than official recognition. Public recognition comes sooner to the individual who has been honoured by the Government than to the one who has devoted his time, energy and services to the public cause. Without such recognition, a man seldom rises to the highest eminence in his own community, be his worth and character what they may. And as the honour and eminence of a profession or brotherhood depend upon the eminence and distinction of individual members thereof, it follows that unless the ablest and most distinguished of them receive such recognition as would elevate them above the common level, the profession cannot present attractions to ambitious intellects of the country. Those Indians who have distinguished themselves in journalism have been drawn into it not by choice, but by accident. Kristo Das Pal, who was undoubtedly the most distinguished journalist and the most distinguished public man of his time, and whom Viceroy and Governors delighted to honour, became a journalist because a District Judge considered him incompetent to be the interpreter of his Court. He attained to eminence because the Government nominated him to a seat in the Legislative Council, and conferred honours upon him. Without these valuable accessories, he would have probably died an unknown man, and no statue of his would have adorned the city of Calcutta. Other people took to journalism out of a generous enthusiasm for the public cause, and not as a prosperous or paying career. As a profession journalism in India is still not paying, at least not as paying as law, medicine or trade. Even Government service has higher attractions of pay, pension, and liberal leave rules. In the earlier stages there was much less scope in Indian journalism for making a decent competence; and if a few talented and well-educated men had not shunned the brighter field of public service and law for the less remunerative occupation of journalism, even the few prosperous journals that are now in existence would not have been heard of. It is to these early pioneers that Indian journalism owes what success and distinction it has attained, what respect and influence it commands at the present day. They laid the foundation. Others are building upon it. The better class of Indian journals are indeed conducted with ability, moderation, and intelligent patriotism. This is acknowledged by the Government and the officials. But the income derived from the

profession, even in the case of the most successful journals, is yet disproportionate to the talent and capacity of those who are engaged in it, to the time and energy they devote to its services.

Nor has a man who enters journalism and gains distinction in it any of those prospects and rewards which are open to him in England. Entrance into the Indian public service is regulated by examinations and age rules. A candidate for the public service must not generally be over 25 years of age; in no case can he be over thirty. Hence it is impossible that a man trained in journalism can in after life gain distinction as a public servant, although the training received in a newspaper office is of the most useful kind for the administrator, the statesman or the lawyer. The habit of thinking, of forming judgment, of keeping confidence, combined with the sense of responsibility which he always feels, has its own value in any sphere of work to be done or regulated by cultured intelligence; and the journalist, in addition, possesses a wide variety of knowledge, and has opportunities of knowing human nature as disclosed to him in the confidence of journalistic secrecy by men of varying moods, ambitions and vanities. In England the trained journalist has the highest career open to him. A considerable proportion of the Members of Parliament are journalists; and many a Minister of State received his first training in journalism. Statesmen like Lord Salisbury, Mr. John Morley and Lord Milner were all journalists. The once struggling journalist has long been a Prime Minister. The once Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* was long one of the Principal Secretaries of State. The once Assistant Editor of the same journal is now High Commissioner and supreme ruler of South Africa. These avenues of distinction are of course closed to the Indian journalist; and he has not within his reach even those minor offices of distinction and trust which are open to Indians when once he has permanently wedded himself to the profession. This is a circumstance which deters, and should deter for a long time to come, the most talented and the most ambitious young men of the country from entering the profession of journalism in any appreciable numbers. If there are prizes there must be competitors; but Indian journalism has no prizes to offer. Placed as Indian journalists are, always in opposition to the Government, and having more or less frequently to criticise the acts and measures of the greatest men in authority, they are not likely to be

picked out for special favours or honours. If they do their duty with fairness and moderation, they may at best be regarded as the best of their class. By the best of Governors and high officials they are occasionally taken into confidence and treated with consideration and respect. But a public recognition of their services has not yet become the fashion, or even an exception to the rule. The only means of distinction open to them in their relation to the Government may be said to consist in election to the Legislative Councils which, as recently reconstituted, provide seats for a limited number of independent men who, as lawyers, or journalists, or merchants, may have established some claim on the confidence of their countrymen, although even here the residential qualification insisted on by the Rules operates as an obstacle in the way of the most distinguished journalists, who are invariably residents of metropolitan cities.

As regards the emoluments of the profession, which form another incentive to talent, I have already indicated the situation. It is doubtful whether there are more than half a dozen Indian journals which can be described as prosperous. Most of the existing journals have developed from small beginnings, having been started by men possessing more brains than money, more public spirit than thirst for fortune. Nor has the time yet come for capitalists to regard journalism as a profitable business. Its commercial aspect does not appeal to the attention of moneyed men. Without the co-operation of capital with talent, it is impossible to bring out first-class newspapers suited to modern tastes and requirements. By the majority of Indian readers a newspaper is taken more for its comments than for its news; and if large sums are spent on the supply of news it is doubtful whether subscribers will increase in a corresponding ratio. The best conducted Indian newspapers are accordingly deficient in telegrams and news letters; and they must continue to be so until the general craving for news increases among the reading public. Anglo-Indian newspapers are in a better position in this respect. Almost every European in India thinks it necessary to subscribe for at least one paper; but a good many educated Indians do not consider a newspaper so very essential. Indian newspapers are doubtless read largely. The number of people that read a newspaper is at least ten times as large as that of those who subscribe for it. Even

well-paid Indian officials are content to read newspapers subscribed for by clubs and reading rooms. Hence the income derived by newspapers is quite disproportionate to their influence and popularity. Those who do business with an eye to profit and loss are not likely to invest their money in an enterprise of this description. The state of the law is also such as would scare away capitalists from the field. Actions for libel are easily launched. A man with Rs. 30 in his pocket can file a suit in a High Court claiming lakhs of rupees as damages. With much less he can drag an editor and his whole staff from a distance of hundreds of miles to any place he chooses. Judges and magistrates have not been generally known to be too considerate towards newspapers. Circumstances which would furnish an excuse in the case of many other offences are no excuse in a libel action. Ignorance of facts, good faith, and absence of intention to do harm are no plea for the newspaper editor. The law is too readily, and even recklessly put in motion against him. Two recent cases which came before the Courts forcibly illustrate this. A complaint was preferred at Cawnpore against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, published from Calcutta. The editor and his staff and witnesses had to travel about 700 miles to defend the action. Thousands of rupees had to be spent, in addition to the troubles and inconveniences they had to undergo. If the Magistrate who originally tried the case had taken the trouble of seeing whether the alleged libel had been published within his jurisdiction, all the trouble and the expense to which the defence was put might have been avoided. But he took it for granted that he had jurisdiction, and set the law in motion. He tried the case, convicted the accused, and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, the highest which he could impose. In appeal the Sessions Court found that the alleged libel had not been published within the jurisdiction of the Magistrate. He also found that the accused could not be convicted of the libel as he was not in his office at the time it was published. Now the Magistrate, acting with a sense of responsibility, ought to have refused to issue summons until it had been clearly proved that the issue of the paper containing the libel had been published within his jurisdiction. In the absence of this proof he had clearly no jurisdiction. Yet he assumed it and put the parties to all the expense and trouble of a criminal trial. Is it not necessary that journalists should be protected against the

results of such ignorance and illegalities on the part of the dispensers of justice ?

The case by the President of the Madras Municipality against the *Madras Mail* is an equally bad instance of the ignorance of magistrates leading to unnecessary hardships. In this case the Magistrate overruled the objection that the President of the Municipality could not institute proceedings in a case where not he, but his subordinate officials of the Sanitary department, had been libelled, even assuming that what was published against them constituted a libel. The proceedings cost thousands of rupees on either side. But a full bench of the High Court quashed the conviction on the preliminary ground that the President of the Municipality was not entitled to institute a complaint, since he was not the party libelled. Thus, because the Magistrate misinterpreted and misapplied an elementary principle of law, both the Municipality and the *Madras Mail* were made to spend several thousands of rupees on a prosecution which did, and could do, no good to the public. The journalist who performs a public duty has need to be protected against such costly proceedings. Capital and talent will not easily flow into a calling which involves such risks, especially when both can be profitably employed in other spheres less open to the dangers of the criminal law, of its misinterpretation and misapplication.

The state of the law of sedition is another danger which threatens newspaper owners and editors. The Government, as Government, is not at all intolerant of public criticism ; on the other hand, it even does much to encourage it. But, in my opinion, writers and speakers should have greater protection than is afforded by the mere good intentions of Government or the mere possibilities of forbearance. The law, as it exists, certainly interferes with the freedom which is necessary for the free development of the historical and critical faculties of a people. In historical research and judgment, no less than in criticism of current affairs, a man must be allowed free play for the exercise of his intellectual faculties. To make him use them under the constant fear of penal consequences is fatal to the growth of ideas and views which are opposed to accepted forms of thought and opinion. The creative talent is as much likely to suffer as the critical, the scholar as much as the journalist. Bold, independent historical criticism is impossible under

the present law ; and original thinking is accordingly hampered and discouraged.

Having so far dealt with the drawbacks and difficulties under which Indian journalism labours, I may be permitted to indicate what, apart from these, may be done both by the authorities and the journalists themselves, to exalt journalism as a profession and to elevate the tone of criticism. To be a fair critic of men and measures, the journalist must have developed in him the sense of responsibility. He must feel his responsibility not only to himself but to the public, and to the Government under which he lives. The man who is under the impression that what he writes is not read by those for whose good opinion he cares or by men in authority, is not likely to be very careful or cautious in expressing himself on public or personal questions; on the other hand, if he has the knowledge that what he says is taken note of, scanned and scrutinised, and acted upon at times, he is sure to feel the weight of his responsibility. He will be anxious to avoid the publication of things which may not stand the test of investigation, of comments or criticisms which may not commend themselves to the approval or acceptance of the more intelligent sections of the public. He may even be anxious to avoid making recommendations which are unpractical and unfit to be adopted. I know how much a friendly remonstrance or a kindly suggestion from leaders of the community or from men in authority may do not only in establishing better relations and better understanding, but in avoiding the public discussion of certain matters which can be settled privately. There are, for example, things which may be brought to the attention of the authorities in a private communication rather than be ventilated in the Press ; and grievances or wrongs which can be so redressed, or mistakes which may be so set right, need not necessarily be published and commented upon. In this category I include all such matters as admit of no room for dispute or difference of opinion, and in regard to which, when the facts are stated, the authorities and the publicist can without hesitation agree. I do not feel myself at liberty, at present, to mention specific instances to illustrate my meaning ; but I may say that this course has been followed by some of our best rulers and high officials with unmistakable advantage.

Criticism of the Government is the legitimate function of the

journalist. Without it there is no justification for his existence. But even in criticism one may be considerate and gentlemanly towards those from whom it is one's privilege to differ. Absolute fairness and avoidance of misrepresentation are other merits which the journalist should be proud to possess. Fair dealing commands respect and confidence in every sphere of life ; and in journalism I would count nothing higher. The most bigoted official cannot help respecting a critic who, however severe, is honest and fair, and has no motive but justice and the public good. There are, indeed, occasions when the editor of a newspaper is placed in a difficult position, when he has to reconcile his duties to the Government with his obligations to the public. In times when the public mind is agitated by the unpopular acts and measures of Government, the standard of criticism has to be regulated in accordance with public expectations. The journalist who is too friendly or considerate to the Government is liable to be suspected of unworthy motives ; and if, on the other hand, he performs his duty in accordance with public expectation, he is likely to forfeit the sympathy of the powers that be. In such critical times it requires wisdom and foresight to steer clear of antagonistic feelings, the responsibility of the journalist being not less great than that of the ruler. If Government rouses feeling by its acts, it falls to the journalist to guide and even to restrain that feeling. Occasions of this sort, however, are exceptional. What the journalist has more often to guard himself against in India, is the excitement of racial feeling. The Anglo-Indian and the Indian Press both contribute to this excitement at times. They both cause strife and bitterness where both should be avoided. They have different interests to serve, different policies and measures to advocate. On questions of taxation, legislation and employment in the public service their interests are often antagonistic and conflicting. It is inevitable, therefore, that they should look at questions of this sort from different standpoints, and that they should express their differences strongly. But it seems to be possible and desirable to avoid undue insistence on racial or national defects of character on either side. Even an animated discussion may be carried on without emphasising the racial peculiarities or even the racial origin of your opponent. Such an excusable trait, for example, as prejudice, or such a serious defect as dishonesty, may quite legitimately be referred to

as the peculiar weakness of individuals or of men engaged in certain spheres of work, but not as the special peculiarity of a race or creed or nationality. The words "Anglo-Indian" and "Native" have specially to be eschewed in matters of this sort. It is perfectly legitimate to find fault with the shortcomings of the officials or the failings of their non-official critics ; but it is less so to attribute them to the racial characteristics of Anglo-Indians or Indians. A little restraint exercised in this direction on either side must tend to remove a good deal of unnecessary racial bitterness. A more constant intercourse between the leaders of native thought and European gentlemen should also tend towards harmony and mutual goodwill. The average European journalist and the average Indian journalist are both separated from communities other than their own; and therefore, when they write on controversial politics, they do not look beyond their own community, do not take into account the feelings of other communities.- But if they have friends and acquaintances among the members of a community other than their own, they are likely to cherish some regard for the feelings and good opinion of those others and display it in their writings and criticisms. The man who is well acquainted with an official is more likely to write of him in a generous and charitable spirit than one whose severity of judgment is not softened by friendly feeling. More intimate relations and more frequent intercourse between the two classes, especially between those who carry on the administration and those who criticise it, must improve the tone no less of the administration than of criticism itself.

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The complexity of creeds and castes is a special difficulty to the Indian journalist, as it creates differences and divides interests. It is easy to accentuate differences and divisions by incautious or indiscreet treatment of matters in which different sections of the community are diversely interested. The journalist who would do his duty to his country and to his conscience should rise above all narrow prejudices, should overcome the influence of his surroundings, and should discipline himself to view all his countrymen alike. His mind must move in an elevated atmosphere, far above the evil passions of castes and sects. His attitude must be one of absolute impartiality and justice. His sympathies must be liberal and national. For public criticism there is much less tolerance in India

than in England ; much less among Indians than among Englishmen. Praise is naturally better relished than censure ; at any rate it is less harmful. But in India even praise has its risks. To praise one man is sometimes to incur the ill-will of another ; for there are people, fortunately not many, who would not only be not pleased if they were not praised, but would be annoyed if others were. The journalist, however, is not bound to pander to such weakness. His first duty is to reflect the general public opinion as regards all measures and all men that have a public character ; and he should not be dissuaded from doing so by the fear of offending individuals. Nor should he share the weakness, which a judge, for example, is liable to, of failing to be just to a personal friend, of withholding praise from him when it is deserved. Above all, the journalist has need to restrain his own feelings, and to overcome his own likes and dislikes. The temptation is great to use your pen against those who may have offended your *amour propre*, those who may have been even unjust to you. The sober journalist, however, need not be told of his duty to sink his personality in the performance of his duty to the public and to the Government.

It is usual for those who wish to stand well with the rulers to declare that it is not their intention to add to the difficulties of administration. I do not think that any class of the people in this country really intend any such thing. Nor do I feel that criticism, however severe or unreasonable, can add to the difficulties of administration. A strong Government, strong in its justice and benevolence, cannot be inconvenienced by criticism. But it may be of help to it to have the support of public opinion in carrying out measures or policies intended for the welfare of the people themselves. The legislation to protect the sugar industries of India against foreign competition was one in carrying out which the Indian Government would have been hampered by the opposition of the Indian public opinion. The support that the entire Indian Press and public accorded to it enabled the Government to disregard the vehement protests of the Free Traders in England. Occasions of this sort may now and then arise ; and the Government will have reason to be disappointed if they do not get the support which they expect from the Indian public. As I have said, the function of the journalist is criticism, more frequently criticism of the Government. It is

inevitable that we should fight with them for our rights and privileges and even for concessions and favours ; and we do not hesitate to do so when our interests require it. But it is equally incumbent on us to regard the enemies of our Government as our enemies, their friends as our friends, and ourselves as sharers in their greatness and glory. In this sense we are all imperialists ; and the Indian journalist who acts in this spirit is not only a loyal subject, but a valuable accessory of the Government.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL PROGRESS.

HAVING been a constant reader of Indian journals, and an active sympathiser with the so-called Indian political party for the last 20 years, since the beginning of my University career, I have come to the conclusion that the Indian political party has accepted the expression "Politics" to be synonymous with "Agitation." Agitation, constant, unending agitation for political rights, may be one of the means to be adopted by a nation to obtain them ; but agitation alone cannot express what is summed up in the word "Politics." Agitation only deals with the present, and is based on current events. The weight that is to be attached to it must be derived from the facts and figures supplied by the present or by its immediate past. But politics concerns itself with the building up of the nation with a view to its future. It calls to its aid the past and the present, imagines and designs the future, and then proceeds to find materials for the construction of the latter. As such, it is a *religion*, and a science, much higher, both in its conception and in its sphere, than mere political agitation. The true politician, as I understand the word, has a creed or faith; the agitator has none. The latter has "instincts, passions, often genuine in their origin, but easily deviated, or corrupted by disappointments or the *seductions of power*, as soon as years have cooled his enthusiasm and his youthful blood." The politician is one "to whom observation has shown the existence of a grave social grievance or immorality, to whom intelligence has shown a remedy, and to whom the voice of conscience, enlightened by a religious conception of the human mission here below, has revealed the inexorable duty of devoting himself to the application of the remedy and extirpation of the evil." The agitator, or the *reactionist*, as the writer

whom I am quoting calls him, is "one urged by a sentiment of rebellion against injustice—innate in minds, gifted with any power—and very often by the pain and irritation consequent on being unable to assume his true place in the social order, to seek to better his own condition with the help of all who suffer under similar distress." The true politician "will pursue his forward march, whatever his individual position be, so long as the evil endures. The agitator will probably stop short as soon as the injustice ceases with regard to himself, or as soon as the overthrow of the power attacked shall have satisfied his self-love and mitigated the sense of rebellion within him." The aim of the one is always to found, that of the other is to destroy. The first is a man of progress, the second of opposition. "With the first it is a question of principle, while the second glories in details. The first has a constructive programme, while the second resorts to that analysis which only decomposes and dissolves. The true politician may fail to achieve his aim ; but if he succeed once, his success is permanent, while the victories of a mere agitator, though sometimes brilliant, are not sure to be durable. The former invokes duty first and then rights, the latter invokes rights first and then duty. The acts of the former are influenced by a strong religious leaning, even when, through an intellectual contradiction, he professes the reverse, while the latter is irreligious and materialist, even when he proffers the name of God ; with him, *i. e.*, the latter, the present always tops the future, and material interest takes precedence of moral progress. The men of the first class, accustomed to willing sacrifice, labour less for the generation that lives around them than for the generations to come ; the triumph of the ideas they cast upon the world is slow, but infallible and decisive ; the men of the second class often win victories for their contemporaries, but their children enjoy none of the fruits. The first are the prophets of humanity, the second are the mere agitators of mankind." An agitation can always be met with a counter-agitation, and thereby rendered powerless, but principles are irresistible, and none can demolish them, if true. The future of India requires the services of politicians, and not those of mere agitators. The future of the nation requires solidity of principles and purity of methods as its bases, and not mere diplomatic make-shifts or doubtful tactics. India wants men who, whether in good fortune or in bad fortune, not

minding temporary reverses or difficulties, will lead her right through to the goal, who will neither feel buoyant through the flush of preliminary success, nor feel daunted by temporary failures. Such are the men that are wanted to found and lead the Indian political party; not men of power, not men of riches, nor men of titles, but men of conscience, men of energy, men of will, men who do not know how to give way to temptation or allurements, or how to be cowed down by threats and dangers; and last, but not least, men who do not know how to acknowledge a defeat. Let them chalk out a faith, a programme: and their countrymen, many of whom are ardent in their love for their country, will kiss their feet and follow them right through, in good luck or in bad luck. The first thing that a politician has, thus, to do is to consult the future of his nation, so far as his vision can reach, and then to devise the means by which the future, as imagined by him, can be reached. The second thing which a politician has to do, is to choose his creed and promulgate it. Let him first determine whether he is an absolute monarchist, a democrat or one for constitutional monarchy; because it is only then that he can, if at all, think of the proper methods which are to lead the nation to the desired end and because, in any case, the nation has to fit itself for its destiny. As the aim is, so must the means be. The political vision of the Indians, just now, only sees constitutional monarchy within its horizon, and from the very nature of things they cannot, for a long time to come, extend their horizon further. Before them is the spectacle of a nation ruled by a constitutional monarch, happy, prosperous and politically great. This nation rules over them, and although itself subject to a constitutional monarchy, it rules India in the spirit of an absolute despotic monarchy. The only difference is that here in India this despotism does not rest in one individual, but in a class. The first duty of an Indian politician, therefore, even if he is a democrat, is to prepare the nation to be fit to ask for a constitution, and to do so with reason. The first necessary step is not to go in for this demand, or to settle the form of the demand, but to create those forces the operation of which will justify the nation in advancing its claims. In my humble opinion, the first axiom which every Indian politician ought to take to heart, is that no nation is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between *begging* such rights and *claiming* them. A beggar can be turned out of doors

without redress, but one who has to be respected as a creditor cannot. No debtor can honestly and effectively ignore a creditor, but every charitably inclined man can ignore a beggar whom he does not like, or whom he does not consider deserving. No one can deny that, just now, ours is a position of beggars. We live on the charity of our rulers. They not only rule over us, but it is they who think for us, who manufacture for us, who preach to us, and who provide for us.

In a self-governed country, or in a healthy body politic, the Government and its subjects are one and interchangeable. They have their respective and correlative duties and rights. In a country governed by foreigners, the rulers and the subjects are not one. But the aim of all true politicians ought to be to bring about this unity. The great gulf between the subjects and their rulers can only be bridged by bringing the former up to the level of the latter in intelligence, in culture, in moral calibre, in capacity for self-sacrifice and in subordination to high ideals. The nearer the mass of subjects approach their rulers in these qualities, the easier the solution of the political problem. The nearer you reach them, the smaller the number of those duties which really belong to the subjects, but which, in the present state of society, have to be performed by the State. In a perfect commonwealth, the real sovereignty rests with the people. The State exists for them and rules in their name, and thus has a smaller and more limited volume of rights than those vested in the so-called subjects. Hence, real political progress consists in befitting the nation to take up those duties which, though at present performed by the ruling class, ought in a state of political health, to be discharged by the people themselves. The position thus analysed resolves itself into an educational problem. View it from whatever point you choose, religious, moral, intellectual, social or industrial, the question of India's progress is a question of education. This is, so to say, the question of questions, upon the right solution of which hang the destinies of the nation, viz., how to educate the people so as to befit them for the performance of those duties, a proper discharge of which alone can secure for them their right position in the commonwealth.

But let my countrymen remember that this momentous question of the day is not one which can be solved by speeches and resolutions only. We must be prepared to undergo great sacrifices, if we are really earnest about the future of the country, and should put our

united shoulders to the wheel, to drag the car of progress to its destination, cost what it may.

The car is a heavy one, and those who care to join in carrying it must be men of strong convictions, indomitable will, irresistible energy and untiring perseverance ; they must be men of action and *men of honour*. Let us resolve to spare all we can by living simple lives, for furthering the cause of true education in this country, as it is only useful, solid and all-covering education upon which the nation can build a character and establish a claim to be the arbiter of its own fortunes. No amount of sacrifice ought to be too great to attain this end, and the sooner we realise this, the better for ourselves as well as for the nation at large.

LAJPAT RAI.

PERSISTENT ORIENTALISM.

HOW does it happen that, in spite of all this ceaseless propagandism of European ideas, European creeds and their methods, men still yearn for the life and literature of the East ?

Lifeless and motionless spreads the expanse of Asia, exploited by all nations of the Far West ; no one knows what is to be its fate in the near future. But our veiled destiny still perseveres to stand with its eye turned to the dreary past, straining to catch thereupon a gleam that shall lighten our path in the encompassing gloom and uncertain prospects.

We hear a great deal in these days of Orientalism, of the Eastern spirit, the light from the East, and so forth. It shows a tendency of speculation, founded upon an indistinct aspiration and half-made analysis. Some of us wish to retain or regain the genius of our ancestors against this overpowering tide of European influences. The wish is both natural and wholesome, though one must take care to see that it is genuine and not affected. For there is a good deal of covert Europeanism masquerading about as Eastern nationality and the Oriental spirit. In the conditions of modern life it is impossible to prevent a mixing up of ideals, and everyone who is not thoroughly untravelled and untaught must consent to, must even adopt, the vitality of Western ways. Nevertheless, the Asiatic, perhaps none so much as the Hindu, has peculiarities of nature, which ought to be cultivated carefully, and not set aside as so much rubbish. The first of these is a brooding quietism that loves to retire from outside activities into the inner mind. We happen to know many worthy men in our part of the world, who are quite as energetic and superficial as any Western man could be, but nevertheless the Eastern mind naturally tends to insight as the Western to oversight. Without knowledge, without experience, mere intui-

tion is not only unworkable, but produces conclusions that utterly mislead. Observation, knowledge, skilled experience are surer guides more often. But other things being equal, a man of brooding introspection is likely to have a profounder view on all subjects than a mere outside observer. The schoolmaster ought to see that education does not spoil, but help the reflectiveness of the Oriental mind. For a man's own mind has in it the key to the universe, and he who retires into his deepest mind for the real meaning of things oftentimes understands more than what the senses and the intellect, even if well instructed, are likely to reveal. Only, the schoolmaster must be himself an Oriental, and not a product of Government normal schools.

From this it follows that the Eastern man must be one of great impulses.

Nothing helps insight so much as profound emotion, but here your Western not only disagrees but protests. To him emotion, if it is not unintelligible, is often an encumbrance. It obscures the intelligence, it prejudices the mind. In some cases it does so, one may not deny, but needs a philosophical training. But really emotion and intellect are not the same thing, and if the one needs a correction sometimes, the other, intellect, needs a correction quite as often.

What the Western man doubts or denies is that emotional excitement can ever be helpful to the understanding. Yet there are records of percipient ecstasy in every religion and every Eastern nationality, and thus must it continue. We believe in the control of overmastering impulses even in the cause of religion, but there are times when they get uncontrollable, and then most productive. In Oriental ecstasy is the explanation of a great deal of Oriental revelation. It will be an evil day when Asiatic visionaries are converted to the precisions of Europe. There is plenty of logic and precision in the East, in fact too much, at least here in India ; but the East's strong points are in its insight and emotion, not so much in its power of reasoning. The sentiments have an educational value which reasoning from syllogisms may not supply. Mr. Herbert Spencer, with his wonderful lucidity, proves how much philosophical reasoning and accurate knowledge can supply in reconstructing religion ; but with all the great admiration one feels for his intellect, one cannot help the feeling that his admissions about an Omni-

present and Almighty Power, though interesting in the progress of his scheme of synthetic philosophy, is a most desolately inadequate substitute for practical religion of any kind. One might say the same thing of such brilliant physicists as Tyndal and Huxley ; they skim the very borderland of spiritual verities, and suggest far-stretching visions of what lies beyond their ken ; but the verities themselves are as alien to them as a theory of Evolution is to the prophet Ezekiel. Granted even an unuttered penetration into the inner meaning of natural facts with which they have to deal, such as again and again finds vent in the pregnant hints about Life and Mind, say in Huxley's *Lay Sermons* ; in the deliberate ignoring of man's spirituality and emotions in the service of scientific truth, not to say religious truth, they have put themselves altogether out of court in the decision of moral and philosophical principles. When these are remade and revived, they will make a harmony with Science, altogether new to the world. Here the Oriental steps in with his overmastering impulses to reconstruct what the Occidental reasoner fails to do. Yet it is best to bear in mind that the real value of mystical sentiment does not lie in the mere tickling of the imagination, or the mere quaintness of an expression or thought, but in the positive and progressive service it does in completing the faith and character of the future man. An exaggerated and sickly laudation of the utterances of Omar Khyam and Dewan Hafiz is the fashion to-day prevalent in England and America. It shows the bare possibility of the European mind throwing itself into the mould of the Asiatic temperament, but I refuse to admit that this is real Orientalism unless it proves itself equal, which it does not, to answer the moral and religious exigencies of the times. A mystic insight does not mean a heated barbarism of the imagination—it means a real sight of things otherwise unattainable. Perhaps Emerson and the Transcendental school of American thinkers, which he founded at Concord, come nearer to the ideal we set forth. Young India, educated and half-educated, finds a delight in studying their works in prose and poetry. But dear as Emerson, Olcott, Thoreau, and others of their class are to us, we cannot help agreeing with Matthew Arnold's criticism that Emerson was no founder of a synthetic philosophy of life, but a thinker and expounder of some profound impulses of the East. In his case, too, it was the intellect that was the real organ

of thought, intellect deeply tinged with emotion, rather than emotion as the original medium of spiritual intuitions.

The philosophy of the East, to speak from a Hindu point of view, has always been the expressed and implied philosophy of monism. The whole system of Scotch and English speculation of the last century, that differentiates phenomena from substance, and confines itself to the former, is unknown in the East. The sole reality in the universe is the substance, the Spirit, the Eternal. Search, pursuit, and discovery of That is the only worthy occupation for man, the whole source of knowledge, all else is but beating the air. Without doubt, this has led to the discount and discouragement of every kind of physical science and secular prosperity. But, on the other hand, it is also true that it has fostered and produced that spiritual inwardness, concentration and introspection which makes Asia the mother of religions. All philosophy is the product of racial temperament. The Oriental, in ignoring the manifestations and facts of the material world in his absorption in the Spirit, has founded or developed a system or tendency of thought, which has become his very nature. Here the Anglo-Saxon does not follow him; he thinks too much introspection has made him mad. One may just observe in passing that the spiritual concentration of the East, when turned to the study of nature, has produced a mystic poetry which fills the literature of Sufism as well as the epics and dramas of India.

Reproach us, if you will, with pantheism, and reproach us with the confusion of moral distinctions laid down by Western theology—all that is the fault of our method, not our nature. The Hindu discerns the same pantheism in some of the loftiest passages of the New Testament. This pantheism is probably a term of opprobrium which Christian logicians have invented to characterise a certain phase of Eastern thought they never can understand. So far as the Oriental is concerned, his conception of the unity of the cosmos, the homogeneity of the spirit and matter, the essential unity of all religion is the keystone of the whole arch of his spiritual philosophy. The practical distinctions of material, moral and religious matters he does admit; he is too much of an observer and reasoner to deny that. But as a thinker, seer, prophet, he must realise that there is One only in the all of things, and that this One is the All-in-all of the universe. Whether spiritualised in the Upanishads, or reasoned out

in the Darshanas, worked into the Mahabharata, or concentrated in the Song of Songs (Bhagavadgita), the oneness of the Spirit of all things, the vainness of the apparent world and worldly life, the Supreme importance of perfect unity with the Eternal Essence must ever remain as the singularity of the Oriental's nature. This singularity mankind will have to learn and accept at his hands in the future as in the past. From what is said so far, it will perhaps be readily perceived that the moral ideal of the East is the ideal of self-submergence. Whether it be Buddhism, or Vedantism, or Sufism, or even later cults of Vaishnaism, the same aspiration after absolute selflessness recurs. To say, as Western critics, even like Max Müller, say, that this means utter annihilation of the individual soul, is unjust. It would be that if there was not a transcendental intelligence pervading all beings, man among the rest, and that this was attainable in proportion as the ebbing and declining self gave way to the Supreme Universal who rushes in, and at last overflows and submerges the devotee's whole nature, so that God becomes his life and soul. Where is self-annihilation if one soul becomes decadent, and a higher soul arises? Consciousness is never obliterated, it emerges into an all-pervading consciousness. In such Godlife, morality in its Mosaic sense, ceases, but it is exalted into divinity—whatever the man does becomes divine. Cannot this be called Christ consciousness—the identity of the Father and Son? It is not to be supposed that this moral condition is reached *per saltum*. All those vaunting charlatans who noisily claim it forget the very first law of Eastern religious life. It is through absolute self-discipline, the very destruction of carnality and desire, added to the intensest communion with the All-holy Spirit that morality is matured into spiritual perfection. But when that perfection is attained the so-called moral instructions become practically useless, for the devotee becomes spontaneously divine. Christian theologians freely ascribe this supreme moral ecstasy to Christ, perhaps even to St. Paul, and well they may; but in Oriental ideals this divine heritage has become an inalienable right. Of necessity the contrast between the absolute and relative always remains, the contrast between the conditioned and the unconditioned; the finite man can never in any case be the infinite God; but in his relations and conditions of life, in attaining the Brahman man becomes morally as perfect as his "Father in Heaven is perfect."

The conventional ethics of the European system remains binding upon those who have obligations in the world (who can say he has not ?)—but there are men, and there are attitudes of life in which they rise above the world; then the moral ideal is identified with the divine ideal, and the common man becomes the God-man. Incarnations had no beginning in the East and will never have an end ; but the moral law has a beginning and must, therefore, have an end. Hence "the law of works" and "justification by faith," whereof the Apostle of the Gentiles speaks. That this moral ideal should lead to practical inactivity is perhaps sometimes inevitable ; but bodily action is not the highest form of action—the highest energy is the energy of the spirit within. The East claims that lofty and unceasing activity at all times. The question is, can such Orientalism, in its simplicity and purity, be made practical in modern times ? The world has contracted into such small proportions now that the influences of the West and the East have interpenetrated each other ; and however persistent, modern Orientalism must be a very uninstructed thing, and rather unserviceable unless it be permeated by the power of light from the land of the setting sun. The great reproach of the East has been its unprogressiveness, as intellectual superficiality has been of the West. The ceremonial, formal immobility of every kind of Eastern ritualism and philosophy is at the root of this death-like stupor. Can the restless spirit of the West revive it ? Undoubtedly it can, and is doing so. Has Orientalism still a message for the world, a spirit that can re-enliven and idealise this besetting materialism on all sides ? Undoubtedly it has, if it can shake off the mortal heaviness of age and indifference. The service of the West to us is a daily experience ; our influence upon it is not apparent. How can it be, if we ourselves have not risen to the height of the genius of our Continent ? How can it be, if we are content to feed upon the husks of a superficial philosophy and outworn creeds swept out of the tables of the West ? How can it be when all our credentials to the world's acceptance lie in a mere boast of what our forefathers achieved ? A parrot-like recitation of Sanskrit phrases and exploded theories, a slavish adherence to usages and ideas out of which all moral vitality has fled, is not the representation of the Eastern spirit. Their quaint antiquity is all the recommendation they now have for the fashionable fanciful men and women of our days. Be

it with or without the help of Europe, Orientals must regain the original genius for insight, emotion, spiritual reason and ethical self-surrender. This alone can unseal that inspiration from the Eternal which made Asia the fountain of all true faith and all true thought.

I stood on the Himalayas, one evening, to watch the glory of an autumn sunset behind the great snow-peaks on the West. After a gleam or two a sudden mist arose. It swallowed the snows, covered the crests, hid all the great mountains, obscured every view, and encompassed even myself. In great disappointment I turned round, when, lo ! the whole splendour of the West reappeared in the cloud-lands of the East. The transferred lights and glories were unspeakable. I stood transfixed, and reflected that such must happen some day in the spiritual heavens—when the mists have swallowed the West, the Eternal Light shall be restored to the Eastern sky. From the East to the West, and then from the West to the East again, will the Sun move round to complete its mystic cycle.

PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

THE term "Imperialism" and its various connotations have come much into prominence of late in connection with public discussion of the trend of British affairs. For the purpose of our present concern, we here simply employ this term in its strict derivative sense—that of *imperium* or supremacy, from whence comes also the related word *empire*. We accept the accomplished fact that the British polity has come to exercise an immense world-wide dominion, partly through means of colonisation of distant lands by scions of the mother-country reproducing there its constituent elements; partly by the extension of British rule over Eastern nations, widely removed in race, religion and usage. The circumstances of this expansion have reached a turning-point which gives us pause to reflect awhile as to what it all portends, not only for the destinies of those whom it immediately affects, but even for Humanity at large. Such a consideration necessarily opens up many distinctive aspects of interest. We purpose to study a little what we may distinguish as its philosophical character, more especially in relation to this Eastern empire.

Under a *philosophical* regard we would include those intellectual tendencies we can fairly assume as latent in this meeting of the ideals of East and West, and their attempted elucidation. For we seem to thus obtain a fresh standpoint for the re-examination of the deeper problems of existence, a new basis for the rational development of these ideals harmoniously with the conditions pertaining to their respective spheres. In their existing forms, those spheres could hardly present a greater degree of contrast. The native polity of Britain exhibits all the essential characteristics of modern life in the West, in their most pronounced form. Free representative institu-

tions, the influence of public opinion expressed through the platform and the press, the paramountcy of industrial and material interest, independency in matters of religion, the vigorous assertion of individual rights and activities—these are the mainsprings of all that is really vital in the national existence, beneath the outward ceremonial appearances. Whatever their intrinsic differences, the various strata of Indian society represent, in the main, the force of established authority and custom, direction from above, individual subordination, the regulation of daily life by traditional routine, the preferment of contemplation over action. And as all these things are chiefly affected by the mental predisposition obtaining towards life in itself—that is, by the prevailing religion, it is with the latter concern that our present interest principally lies.

In one of those luminous contributions to the elucidation of complex themes, which distinguishes the work of Herbert Spencer, even where we are unable to give complete assent to all his final conclusions, he draws a suggestive picture of the influence respectively exercised upon conduct by the nominal creed and the actual creed of a society. Such a parallel can scarcely be said to obtain to the same degree outside the incongruities presented therein by modern society in the West. Apart from their intellectual or moral limitations and shortcomings, the leading creeds of India, Hindu or Moslem, are, perhaps, fairly consistently interpreted in the concrete life of their devotees. Confining our attention here to England itself, the case is markedly different. The nominal religion of England is Christianity, a faith originally derived from the East; and which, whatever its primal signification may have been—a matter still keenly controverted—is now known to all instructed inquirers to have eventually become the leading creed of Christendom by a series of remarkable compromises with and adaptations to the life and thought of the Græco-Roman civilisation. In the Latinised form, under which this creed was later introduced into the island of Britain, it became subject to still greater modifications. Especially is this seen in the steady subordination of the spiritual to the temporal power and interest, as compared with the ascendancy of the mediæval Church in Western Europe. So that a faith which in its primal essentials is largely associated with that peculiar oriental spirit of quietism, regard for the things which pertain to the welfare

of the soul, aloofness from those which pertain to the material interests of this world, has come to be the nominal faith of one of the most material and virile races of mankind. As the powerful northern men, part farmer and fisher, part pirate, who made England their permanent home, have developed through the centuries their own distinctive civilisation, polity and literature, the contrast noted above has become more accentuated. The strong natural instincts and lust of life, the love of possession, which have made them the leading pioneers of free industry and trade, are naïvely reflected in the prayer for the monarch offered each Sunday in the English Church : "Grant him in health and wealth long to live." These masculine, earthly qualities are equally enshrined in the national literature. Here truly the vital genius of this people manifestly abides. Emerson has well remarked in this connection : "The Englishman has accurate perceptions, takes hold of things by the right end, and there is no slipperiness in his grasp. He loves the axe, the spade, the oar, the gun, the steam-pipe ; he has built the engine he uses. He is materialist, economical, mercantile. When he is intellectual, and a poet or a philosopher, he carries the same hard truth and the same keen machinery into the mental sphere. His mind must stand on a fact. He will not be baffled, or catch at clouds, but the mind must have a symbol palpable and resisting. It is not less seen in poetry. Chaucer's hard painting of his Canterbury pilgrims satisfies the senses. Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton, in their loftiest accents, have this national grip and exactitude of mind. This mental materialism makes the value of English transcendental genius in these writers, and in Herbert, Henry More, Donne, and Sir Thomas Browne. The Saxon materialism and narrowness, exalted into the sphere of intellect, makes the very genius of Shakespeare and Milton. When it reaches the pure element, it treads the clouds as securely as the adamant. Even in its elevations, materialistic, its poetry is common sense inspired ; or iron raised to white heat."

In proportion as Christianity has been absorbed into the peculiar constitution of the English National Church, it is the marked social qualities of its Jewish element with its appreciation of the material good of life, rather than its mystical and ascetic side, which has received the tacit approval of the English, whose own pride of race so curiously resembles the idiosyncrasy of the Hebrew. Meanwhile,

the serious philosophic literature of England has carried the principle of reasoned experience as the final test of truth on all the deeper problems of existence to its extreme conclusion. By this test, the greatest English minds of the nineteenth century have even judged the teaching of Christianity itself in its entirety. Their general conclusions, alike on this great issue, and on the ethical interpretation of life, are seen in the representative work of thinkers like Huxley, Mill, Spencer, Arnold, Bain, Darwin, Buckle ; work which, on its more scientific side, complements the pervading Humanism of the English master-poets, Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Browning. Add thereto the practical civic polity which, under a mingled aristocratic and democratic *régime*, has established the maximum of ordered individual freedom, and we have shortly presented the true characteristics of modern English civilisation. What, therefore, is the influence calculated to be exercised by this vivified humanist culture on the life and thought of India, as its real nature comes to be more intelligently understood in that country ?

We may here digress for a moment to note certain historical parallels which illuminate, in a measure, the question we have in view. The idea which has given rise to much facile generalisation that there is some occult antithesis between East and West, never to be reconciled, of which Kipling's line about East and West never meeting is an instance, is as superficial as it is historically unsound. The foremost races of India, the older inhabitants of Persia, were close akin to Dorian and Ionic Greeks of the "classic" period—all being connected with the Aryan family of mankind. It is true, life in the mass in Persia and India has shaped itself on different lines to what it has subsequently done in Greece and Europe, since the primal swarms of these peoples went their respective ways. But from the beginnings of ordered civilisation on an extensive scale in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, India, there has been throughout the Mediterranean area and by way of the Euphrates Valley and Persian Gulf, continuous intercourse and interaction, commercial and intellectual, between the East and the West. Greek colonies established themselves in the islands and along the coasts of the Mediterranean, side by side with those of Semitic Phœnicians. From the last came various stimuli to their own civilisation. The conquests of Alexander extended the sphere of Greek ideas, and intellectual and artistic

influences, as far as the Punjab ; and the contact thus opened up with the higher intelligence of Chaldea and India gave to the Greek mind an immense acquisition of the incentive to the pursuit of natural science. This was a work carried on with remarkable success and interest at the famous city, founded by him, of Alexandria in Egypt. The whole story of the rise to dominion, under the later Roman Empire, of Christianity, is a further instance of the influence of Eastern religious ideas on a social polity of Western creation, as the outcome of its imperial expansion eastwards. The far-reaching effects of Saracenic culture on mediæval Europe resulting from the growth of the Mohammedan empire, sustaining the scientific spirit at a time of its neglect in Christendom, are known to all students of the intellectual development of Europe. And now the leading Western nation, extending commercial enterprise throughout the world, has come to hold, by a convergence of causes, "the gorgeous East in fee," and to re-act in turn on the long-dormant currents of oriental existence.

From the standpoint of that broader human outlook, inferred in the whole tenor of our preceding remarks, we may first acknowledge the services already rendered to general enlightenment by India, under the ægis of British Imperialism. From the outset of the old East India Company's rule, it is laid down by its leading proconsuls that the strictest neutrality must be observed towards all the native religions. Such an attitude has helped to promote the spirit of tolerance throughout the British dominion. Then the spirit of curiosity naturally aroused in the minds of the ablest Englishmen in the Company's service as to the inner significance of the novel forms of belief around them, as interpreted not by the ignorant multitude, but by their instructed teachers and pundits, led to the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for their investigation under the patronage of that remarkable statesman, Warren Hastings. These inquirers, biassed by the exclusive Christian doctrines of the nature of things in which they had been conventionally trained, soon found that the higher metaphysic and cosmic philosophy of India, detached from the superstitious accretions in which it was obscured, held much whereby to inform and illuminate western intelligence on the mystery of existence. This feeling is gently suggested by Warren Hastings in the preface introducing a first translation of the

Bhagavat to his countrymen, where he says: " Might I, an unlettered man, venture to prescribe bounds to the latitude of criticism, I should exclude, in estimating the merit of such a production, all rules drawn from the ancient or modern literature of Europe, all references to such sentiments or manners as are become the standards of propriety for opinion and action in our own modes, and equally all appeals to our revealed tenets of religion and moral duty." During the century that has passed since these words were written, the prosecution of the studies thus begun by a line of illustrious scholars, has created the rising science of comparative religion—a branch of knowledge which has advanced *pari passu* with the monumental achievements of physical science in Europe during the same period. And this organon now teaches us how all the great faiths of the world, alike in their nobler or cruder aspects, are simply so many efforts of the human mind to interpret the phenomena of its own life, and of that infinity around ; all alike fallible in their conclusions, all to be frankly judged by reason in the trust that some still greater, saner, unifying faith remains to be distilled from their commingled error and truth, that shall help to lighten man's path to yet happier destinies. Such a hope colours the teaching of that thoroughly representative western thinker of the past century, whose incisive judgment we have previously invoked, Ralph Waldo Emerson ; whose own mind was deeply sensitive to and enriched by the "oriental largeness" of these modern eastern gains to thought and culture. And one of the most important contributions to a universal rational philosophy, which has so far accrued from the contact of modern experiential science and the finer metaphysic of the East, is that marked pantheistic sentiment which pervades a great part of Western thinking to-day on the problems which Christian theology has sought to unravel in terms of personal Deity. So great, indeed, has been the influence of this truly Catholic sentiment, that it has called forth the condemnation, in recent years, of the Hierarchy of the Roman Church, with its adhesion to the doctrine of the creation of the world by God out of nothing ; and which has specially anathematised the view "that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, are emanations of the divine substance, or that the divine essence, by manifestation or development of itself, becomes all things." A further noteworthy phase of this intellectual movement

is the growing interest felt in English circles in philosophic poets like Hafiz and Omar Khayyám.

The pre-eminent quality of Western civilisation now simply lies in its adaptation of the principle of utility and common sense to the practical exigencies of life, securely founded on the mechanical application of physical science. Thus every force of nature is sought to be controlled to the service of the imperious daily wants and desires of man. Social usages are determined by their rational expediency. Improvements in sanitary and hygienic knowledge and their gradual social adoption are slowly extending the average duration of life. Mechanical means of intercommunication spans oceans and continents, and pours the resources of the world into London markets to nourish her immense population. In China, we read of the people of one province dying of starvation through famine, when there is abundance in the same country a few hundred miles away—entirely through want of proper means of communication. In this work of practical utility, England has taken the lead. America to-day is merely the extension of the same principle. Thus, an island with a forbidding climate, and great natural resources only to be wrested by strenuous labours, has been made by a powerful and ingenious race to yield up every advantage to the hand of a master. Every capability of the arable soil—the quarriable rock, the highways, the harbours, the navigable rivers, the enveloping sea itself—has been turned at one time or other to the best use. It would appear that the lessons to be learned in the daily field of practical good sense, carefully and intelligently utilised harmoniously with the social conditions obtaining among our Eastern fellow-subjects, is likely to prove one of the chief factors arising from contact with the forces of English civilisation. In emphasising this concern we are not thinking of any special form of economical development. Neither have we particularly in view the merits or demerits of the form of administration established by England in India, and its future modification or re-construction. It has been said, and perhaps with a great deal of truth, that the views of nature held by any people determine all their institutions. Wherever there exist ignorant and erroneous notions of natural causation, involving widespread superstition, we can hardly expect to find beneficent and fruitful action. Nature yields her garland of felicity alone to those

who read most intelligently the meaning of the inner laws which vitally govern her gift of life, and who shape their conduct and institutions accordingly. As all religion, apart from external differences, is primarily concerned with the interpretation of nature, it is the *truth* as to all this varying attitude of the human mind towards the great enigma, which must ever remain our chiefest interest.

So when we are told by an eminent Anglo-Indian, apropos of certain political movements in that country, that "social must precede political reform," we might add that the first desideratum is *intellectual* reconstruction. For when we dispassionately review the mental state of the vast ignorant masses of India, we see clearly that those finer hints of thought, the value of which we have previously acknowledged, are at best the exclusive possession of the instructed minority, and that even these glimpses of the higher light need the aid of positive science to yield their full potentiality of illumination. To bring this saving grace of human enlightenment within the grasp of all these shadowed souls, is an undertaking which can alone be substantially furthered by the enthusiastic co-operation of the accredited guides and leaders of the composite society of our Indian empire. The ideal it embodies must also win the sympathy and encouragement of the rationalist and liberal circles in our English community. It is a matter lying outside the neutral domain of the English Government, while remaining a consistent consequence of its spirit of toleration and freedom. Its initiation rests with the forces of instructed opinion on all sides.

Such is what we wish to imply by our interpretation of the philosophical aspect of Britain's imperial role, of which we have only aimed to render here a clear and definite outline. And while emphasising the utilitarian value of English civilisation, we are fully alive to the shortcomings that are charged against its practical fulfilments. We share, in a measure, the consciousness that has inspired the criticism of native prophets like Ruskin and Carlyle. Yet, on examination, it is the faulty realisation of our own utilitarian principle, the need for regard to beauty and the efficient fruition of Human Life itself as the chief purpose of our material achievements, not disregard of the value and promise embodied in those achievements, which has been the most potent burden of such criticism. And we can cheerfully acknowledge that, in so far as the criticism

has been sound and helpful, it is slowly permeating to-day the whole fabric of English life, always sensitive to influences of this character. While, therefore, we look forward to the absorption into Indian life of more serviceable and sane utilities than many already obtaining, it is just those which shall grow most healthfully with the idiosyncracies peculiar to that life, which need the thoughtful regard of its best minds. There are elements in English life which it may be as desirable for India to hold at a distance, as it has been felt imperative in England to hold aloof from certain phases of oriental life and development. A spurious adaptation of Western modes in many important essentials is to be mistrusted.

Humanity is ever creating fresh paths for herself. Even though tradition and usage have rendered customary certain Eastern ways, which to some hold little hope of change, even for the better, these in turn were moulded by antecedent conditions. A modifying force may open other channels. Our soundest Western concepts have fought for recognition against the antagonism of reactionary interest and obscurantism. In the union of that masculine confidence and energy with which Western knowledge boldly fronts the universe with the subtler sensibility which marks the deeper Eastern attitude, and its possible issue, we find the promise of a decisive onward step in the march of civilisation—and, in the sense of a sure and helpful source of guidance, the foundation in free reason of a renewed spiritual power.

HENRY CROSSFIELD.

PAN-ISLAMIC PROSPECTS.

THOSE concerning themselves with a study of contemporary European politics might remember an incident which, not long ago, fluttered the dovescots of European foreign bureaux. The civilised world was one morning surprised to be told that M. Constans was recalled from Constantinople, and that Munir Bey had obtained his passports at Paris. For some time diplomatic relations between the Porte and the French Government were at a dead-lock. And Sultan Abdul Hamid, the would-be temporal and spiritual Lord of the Moslem world, was unbending for a while. Indeed, not until a squadron of French warships threatened to cruise in, near the sea of Mârmora and up the Dardanelles, would the Sultan care to revoke the peremptory edicts of Yildiz Kiosk specially as they reflected "the Shadow of God upon earth" impersonated in His Imperial Ottoman Majesty Abdul Hamid II! The matter seemed to assume considerable importance with the neighbouring powers; and so stolid an observer of international events as the Marquis of Salisbury thought it significant enough to deserve, in his Guildhall speech, a reference as "the small cloud rising on the Bosphorus."

We need not stop to enter into the genesis of that passing friction, or the conditions which accompanied its ultimate settlement. All the same, it is pertinent to the subject of our enquiry, as revealing a tendency to try the prospects of hope for a world-wide Islamic propaganda. The faith which underlies such a propaganda is well suggested by the general term—"Pan-Islamism." It is by no means certain that this faith is either devoid of foundation or wanting in cohesion. On the contrary, some modern facts raise a presumption the other way. Abdul Hamid, the Premier Monarch of the Moslem world, is anything but a puny ignoramus. He is quite different from any of his predecessors—Selim, Mustafâ, or Murâd. He

credits himself with the apparent friendship of the Kaiser. He has taught the Greeks to respect his army. The forces which, a generation ago, did battle by the side of Osman Pásha elicited the admiration of Russian generals on the slopes of Plevna. He commands an important coast-line, and very possibly a respectable navy. He counts among his vassals the Khedive of Egypt, the Sultan of Oman, and the lesser Sheikhs of Koweit and Moculla. And he has also Eastern dependencies in Asia Minor, Palestine and Turkish Arabia. Under such circumstances, and with such equipments, he presides over what constitutes the Ottoman Empire, which is our present-day counterpart of the ancient Moorish Empire in Europe. But, speaking geographically, the modern Saracenic Empire is still larger and more extensive. For therein we will have to include a great portion of North Africa, the territories of the Abyssinian "Negus," the dominion of the Shah of Persia, Afghanistan and Beluchistan, and many of the Frontier tribal districts. The modern Moslem Empire thus forms a huge and compact parallelogram whose diagonal cuts all the regions between the Balkan States and Karachi. It is evident, after this brief survey, that there is actually a world of Islam, the people of which are united by common bonds of race and religion. Inspired by the same propagandist form of belief, which commenced its triumphant career thirteen centuries ago, nourished on the same yearnings for a Paradise of Ferishtas and Houries that greet a fallen warrior in the cause of "Din," and led on by the same zealous and frenzied Saracenic temperament, these hundreds of millions of mankind lie dreaming in a kind of half-sleep of darkness, impetuosity and ignorance. Now a Hadda Mulla on the Indo-Afghan frontier, then a mysterious Sidi Semessi in unexplored Sahara, half-craftily, half violently raises his standard, and calls up his followers to disturb the peace and comfort of the adjoining world.

But it is ever thus. Even religious history repeats itself. The march of religion has always been troublesome. The intolerant régime of Tiberius, the iconoclastic expeditions of the Guznaveite Mahmood and Ala-uddin Khilji, the martyrdom of Cranmer and of Savonarola, the calamitous invasions of the barbarous devastators, Chengizkhan, Timur and Nadir Shah, the history of the early Parsi settlers on the Kathiawad and Guzarat coasts, and the bigoted Governments of Aurungzebe and Tipoo Sultan, satisfy us that the evolution

of religious beliefs has never been a very pacific process. And the regret expressed with such pathos of poetry in "Akbar's Dream" only emphasises the futility of efforts to divert Islamic fervour from its natural course. When the dew is fresh upon the grass and the morning birds are hopping merrily, we hear the Muezzin from the turret exhorting in shrill cadences, "Now is the hour of morning; come to pray; come to pray." Akbar wanted to so re-construct his ancestors' faith by a large-hearted and cosmopolitan practice of piety, that this exhortation might reach all castes and creeds, and make us all common, loving children of God's universe. We imagine him saying, "Brothers, which of us is here that has not needed forgiveness at some period of his life? The states of mind implied in forgiving and in being forgiven make up much of our day's activity. In my prayer-house, O ye Pandits and Bedouins, no talk of sects and cults and creeds, but a gospel of universal charity, mercy and toleration. And woe be to him that jars amid the true music of life, which is but a conditioned manifestation of the Infinite harmony which we have learnt to associate with the All-Soul." This argues a correct, philosophic attitude, indeed. And had the work, so nobly begun by Akbar, passed into the hands of equally sympathetic and intelligent rulers, Islam would have been a permanently effective instrument of the world's civilisation. But Fate has her own dispensation to offer, and this constitutes the only tragedy of the glorious life-work of Akbar.

Such vicissitudes there have always been for any other system of belief, as for Islam; and our main purpose now is to briefly enquire what, after those vicissitudes, is the present position of Islam as one of the great religions of the world, and what are its prospects as a leavening force for the mass of its followers?

In forecast or in retrospect, the present is always our middle point. Whether we glance back or look forward, we cannot avoid standing awhile amid the present. It is permissible, therefore, were it only as an introduction, to turn to some present-day aspects of Islam and some unreasoning babble about its true spirit and teaching. It has been said, in detriment of Islam as a factor in modern civilisation, that it countenances polygamy, it legalises the institution of slavery; its progress through centuries has been bloody and disquieting, and that ignorance and fanaticism enter largely in its

propagation. In all this, blind prejudice or an uncritical study of the course of religious beliefs is largely responsible for confounding the inherent with the outward graft ; for mistaking the accidents of the expanding process for the inner force and meaning. If the character of the founder is any key to the right understanding of the faith, surely Islam cannot be the dead brute force which some ardent enthusiasts of other creeds would like to predicate of it. It shares with Christianity, Buddhism and Brahmanism the honour of being a great world-religion. All the four have their codes of morality, their doctrines about the Universe and the Self, their ritualistic portions, their propagating organisations, and their national or political aspects too. In essence, Mahomedanism is a religion of prayer and resignation. And as such, Carlyle said it was " a confused form of Christianity : if Christianity had not been, neither could Islam have been there." Further on he says : " Christianity also commands us, before all, to be resigned to God. We are to take no counsel with flesh and blood; to give no ear to vain cavils, vain sorrows and wishes ; to know that we know nothing ; that the worst and cruellest to our eyes is not what it seems ; that we have to receive whatsoever befalls us as sent from God above, and say ' It is good and wise, God is Great ! Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.' Islam means in its way Denial of Self, annihilation of self. This is yet the Highest wisdom that Heaven has revealed to our Earth . . ." And so on, Carlyle goes on to dilate in his peculiar way on Mahmud's sincerity and freedom from cant and dilettantism. It suffices for us to know that, besides prayer, Islam enjoins self-abnegation, fasts, truth-speaking, abstinence from wine, and strict physical and moral purity. Such things it enjoined even when its Prophet preached to the wild Arabs of the Desert. And such also it has continued to enjoin through thirteen centuries of incessant change, strife, bloodshed, devastation, war and peace.

It is interesting to look to the social aspect of Islam at this period of civilisation. With deference to the great authority on this point of Sir William Muir, we cannot resist the conclusion that the social life of the Mahomedans, as controlled by their religion, instead of remaining stationary, has been greatly touched by the forces of modern civilisation. In fact, fidelity to historical truth would irresistibly impress on our notice this gratifying feature. In the first

place, it would be misconstruing the primary data to hasten to say that Islam endorses polygamy. We should not forget that it does not enjoin, but only sanctions it, and that, too, under discreet limitations. And herein is to be found the secret over which sectarian zeal is occasionally misdirecting its armoury of invectives. How did Mahmud find the state of society in which he thought he was forcibly inspired to preach divine admonitions and morality of life? Most probably it was "Chaos and old Night"; idolatry, uncontrollably loose relations of life, swinish materialism and unbelief. He found these difficulties, like traditions, too deep-rooted to be thrown overboard at a sweep. And so, we may take it that he effected a compromise between the savage looseness of the marriage-tie, as he found it understood in his young days, and austere asceticism, for the rigours of which his people did not appear yet equipped. In fact, he imposed a very just limitation implying the morality of confining the principle of selection to such as could on equal terms be dealt with.

Both as regards marital relations and slavery, as sought to be connected with the spiritual doctrines of Islam, the right view of the matter, thus, appears to be that these institutions are referable to times when society moved in primeval darkness, and ideas of human equality, liberty and natural justice had as yet no occasion to evolve and permeate its strata. The progress of knowledge and the advance of civilisation have made slavery legally impracticable, thus removing an important feature not belonging to the faith of Islam, but to those time-worn customs and traditions which society in the beginnings of its life is so loth to eschew. And unless we are misreading the signs of the times, as furnished by the domestic facts of the present-day Mussulman society, we should be very much surprised to be told that even now polygamy continues to be a general rule.

When we next come to the question, whether as a national or political power, Islam could be expected to go ahead of the rest of the great religions on the earth, the prospects are not so assuring. And there are more reasons than one why this should be so. A religion, however spiritual and unworldly its teaching may be, if it is to go forth into the world flourishing for all time, must be able to command a following amongst whom the exigencies of modern complex life have been clearly understood and fully met. The days are

gone when pastoral life was the rule, and the overwhelming march of progress had not yet commenced. Even the great hierarchy of Brahmanism, with its elaborate mythology, its complete and absorbing ritual, its high morality and its deep and ancient philosophy of life and death, seems to wince before the forces of modern civilisation. Both Buddhism and Brahmanism have known their palmiest days. Islam, likewise, had its national and political aspects reflected in full glory in the times of the Caliphate, the Moorish and the Mogul Empires. But the world was not comparatively so large then, as now, speaking from the point of view of industrial and commercial expansion. Since then new forces have come into play, new spheres of activity have been created, and new ideals have to be realised by altogether new modes of working. Industrial inventions, modern education and high culture are the three indispensable instruments, without which no mere spiritualism, no mere esoteric interpretations of the poetry of roses and wine and women, could ever enable a man to secure his salvation in this world. An Amir of Afghanistan, who has strangely conservative views about the protection of commerce in his country, can contribute but little towards making the religion of his subjects more assimilative and cosmopolitan. Nor can it be done in a country which requires to be financed by foreign banking-houses, and whose people have but feebly felt the inspiration of modern science and arts. Internal peace, domestic reform, and morality of administration and of the masses, are the necessary handmaids of a really and permanently religious life of the subject-classes. It is a pity it cannot at once be said of some of the temporal representatives of Islam that the religion of their subjects continues to be excellently nourished by correspondingly high ideals in the conduct of life. While this continues, no mere spasmodic or overt attempts can lift Islam from the place which seems destined for it by the developments of modern ages.

Another great barrier which circumstances have interposed between Islam and its political aspirations, if any, is to be found in the all-embracing Gospel of Christianity. Elsewhere is quoted Carlyle's declaration that "Islam is a confused form of Christianity": meaning, of course, that Christianity inculcates truths which are better filtered and of wider scope. Christianity has known persecutions; Islam has not. The former has produced martyrs; the

latter few, if any. Consequently, the truths of the one have more deeply settled down among its professors than those of the other among its own. A morality which exhorts a man to turn his left cheek to his neighbour when his right has been smitten, is *prima facie* the pink of adaptability. And when we consider the additional fact that it is the followers of that morality—that scriptural precept—who have accomplished wondrous feats in the realm of modern science and arts, who have minimised the powers of time and space, who have controlled the elements and who, above all, have proved intelligent preachers and humble church-goers, the opinion is slowly gathering strength that Islam should remain stationary—with its prayers and resignation.

G. D. BUCH.

JERSEY—A FEUDAL SURVIVAL.

A UTOPIA OF TO-DAY.

IT is the boast of the Channel Islander that England has never been his conqueror. He goes further—as vassal of a Norman Duke victorious at Hastings, he claims that he once had a share in vanquishing the English. Jersey and Guernsey, their inhabitants delight to tell you, were at no time British colonies. Still less can they be reckoned outlying counties of England. These little islands—the larger a bare twelve miles in outside length—are rulers of themselves. The Jerseyman knows no laws but those framed for his exclusive benefit by the Parliament of his own island; the Guernseyman (with Guernsey are included Alderney and Sark), none but those of his, and the one is as independent of the other as are both of edicts passed at Westminster. French—the French of “Froissart and the Chroniclers”—is, in slightly varying forms, the vernacular of all the islands; French, in its more modern shape, is their official language. But whereas for several years now, in the “States” or Parliament of Guernsey debates have been carried on in either French or English indifferently, as the convenience of the speakers dictated, it is only recently that English has been permitted to be spoken in the councils of Jersey; nor do the “Deputies” appear in any haste to avail themselves of the new “privilege.” Jersey, too, was the last to “truckle under” to British institutions in the matter of the time. Until the month of June, 1898, the clocks of this independent island continued to proclaim an hour that was “all their own” and ten minutes behind that registered at Greenwich.

The average Channel Islander—even more than other Island natives—has a deep-rooted aversion to innovation in any shape or form, and this aversion is as characteristic of the Jerseyman, denizen

of the largest and most important isle, as of the dweller in remote Alderney or in little Sark. To this day laws and customs obtain in Jersey, which in England passed away with the Curfew Bell and the battle cry of the Crusades. A rather striking example is the practice of that curious mediæval usage, the punishment by banishment of alien offenders. Any person, male or female, neglecting to observe the laws and ordinances of Jersey (provided only he or she be not a subject of the King) can, at discretion of the Island Courts, be banished therefrom for a period ranging from one year to five or even—in case of repeated offences—for the rest of his or her natural life. A frequent item under the heading of "Police News" in the Jersey daily papers is an announcement to the effect that Jean la Motte, native of St. Brience, employed in Jersey as farm-labourer, has been convicted of drunkenness, or assault or theft, and banished from the Island for twelve months; or that Marie Dubois, married woman and a French subject, under sentence of exile from Jersey, has returned within the period proscribed and has, accordingly, been adjudged the utmost penalty—a condemnation to perpetual banishment. The obvious convenience to the Islanders themselves of this charmingly simple method of eliminating undesirables has, however, probably enough, at least as much to do with its continuance as the Jerseyman's sentimental regard for time-honoured usage.

Another survival of the customs of the Middle Ages is one which, recalling childish visions of buccaneers and buried gold and poor men suddenly made rich, brings with it a certain suggestion of romance—the law relating to "treasure-trove." "Finding," in Jersey, is not "keeping." Quite the contrary. Treasure of any sort, whether found upon the ground or under it, in a tenant's garden or on the King's highway, belongs by feudal right, not to the finder, but to the lord of the manor on which it was discovered. Moreover, that same lord lawfully lays claim to all flotsam and jetsam cast by the sea upon his fief, or washed within a boathook's-length of the beach. In cases where the fiefs, through lack of heirs male or other cogent reason, have fallen to the Crown, an officer, known as the King's Receiver, and specially appointed for that purpose, steps in and takes possession of the treasure on His Majesty's behalf.

The *Seigneurs*, or Lords of the Manor, descendants, some of them, of the knights who crossed from Normandy with the

Conqueror's father, are responsible for several of the more curious feudal customs which linger in the Island. Besides their right to flotsam and jetsam, they may claim, by ancient privilege, the seventh pig in every litter born on their estates, and should a man holding land upon a fief chance to die intestate, the *Seigneur* may, if he feel so disposed, take over and administer the property for that favourite interregnum of the law—the space of “a year and a day.” In the Spring and Autumn of each year a curious function takes place in the capital town of St. Helier's. The *Seigneurs* of Jersey swear allegiance to the English King. The Lord-Lieutenant, escorted by a detachment of Imperial troops, proceeds in state to the Court House, where the Island's “Bailiff” and other Island dignitaries assemble. Here, with all due ceremony, he receives the *Seigneurs*, who make obeisance to him as representative of King Edward, their “lord-paramount,” and renew their oaths of fealty to the Crown.

More practical evidence of the persistence of the feudal spirit and, indirectly, a testimony to the fact that the Feudal System—as applied to small communities—was not without its recommendations, is afforded by the patriarchal form which local government assumes in Jersey. If it cannot precisely be said that—like the early Christians—Jerseymen have “all things in common,” it is, at least, undeniable that those who see to it that law and order are maintained ask nothing in return. Public servants of this Utopian island are content to make their services a present to the State. Even the tax-collector dispenses with a salary ! Each of the twelve parishes into which Jersey is divided owns as chief authority a “*Connétable*,” or Constable, usually its foremost resident, and the Jersey equivalent for an English mayor. He has as his assistants the “*Officiers du Connétable*” and two other residents known as *Centenniers*. These last may, perhaps, be best described as policemen in plain clothes, although the keeping of the peace is not their only avocation. They wield about the same authority as the British rural constable. To all intents and purposes they supply his place. The combined presence of an English garrison and a large French colony makes the maintenance of order in the town of St. Helier's a more difficult matter, and thirteen uniformed policemen—for whose services the law-abiding Islanders insist they themselves would not have had a use—have had accordingly to be provided. These “Bobbies” as a

body enjoy a practically unique distinction. The island has a population of over 52,000 souls, and they are its only paid officials.

The *Connétable*, guardian of its peace, is not the only person of importance in a Jersey parish. There are yet to be reckoned the *Seigneurs*—where such still happily survive—the Rector, required by the law to be a Jerseyman born, and to hold one service in French on every Sunday ; and the Deputy or member, who represents the parish in the States. Once a year the Rector and the *Connétable* head a quaint procession. Escorted by, perhaps, a dozen lesser celebrities, and armed with parish registers and a long measuring rod, they slowly proceed through every road and lane in turn, keeping the while a sharp look-out for low or trailing branches and unduly overhanging shrubs. The approaching visit of the "*Branchage*" inspectors having been duly announced in the local newspapers some weeks beforehand, the trees and hedges which border the picturesque lanes of Jersey are generally found to have been carefully lopped or trimmed. But—woe to the unlucky farmer who has allowed so much as a branch to protrude beyond the limits determined by the law, or whose "greenery" of any sort is found to form a possible obstruction in the path of passers-by ! His name and standing are at once recorded, and with them the sum, or sums, of which he shall be mulcted, the rate being fixed at eighteen-pence per branch.

But though the dwellers in this favoured island boast, and with good reason, that it is governed and kept up without the aid of import duties, and at very trifling cost, there are, even in Jersey, taxes to be paid. A rate, amounting to less than one per cent. of the value of the rate-payer's land, is levied for the making and mending of the roads (unless the person taxed prefers to mend his share of the road himself), and there is also a small tax called the "*Mobilier*," placed, as the name implies, on household furniture and effects. For the collecting of both of these the Collector, or *Vingtainier*, receives, as has been said, no salary. He contents himself with a modest commission amounting to, perhaps, 5 per cent. of the amount collected. Probably in no community throughout the world are the privileges of good government secured at so insignificant a monetary outlay.

It is unfortunate for the Channel Islander, so ready to plume

himself at all times on his immunity from the taxes that oppress the free-born Briton, that there should be another side to this happy picture. In these isles of freedom conscription—albeit a modified form of conscription—holds sway; the liberty-loving Jerseyman submits to forced and gratuitous military service. Every able-bodied resident, native or no, who derives an income from the Island must be enrolled in the Jersey Militia. In other words, from January until the end of May—the period over which the annual training extends—he must put in an appearance at a stipulated number of drills and rifle-practices, and generally make shift to learn the curriculum of the soldier. The inconvenience which this enforced absence from work entails on the labourer, and also on his employer, is obvious. Equally obvious in the eyes of the War Office is the inefficiency—from any military standpoint—of the Channel Island “forces.” Their reform, or rather reconstruction, is a mere matter of time. The outbreak of the Transvaal war postponed the sweeping changes on which the Home authorities insist, but these are pending. Averse as the Islanders are to innovation, they have been made to recognise that in the case of their Militia an alteration is inevitable. Mediaeval methods will no longer pay.

It could hardly be expected of a people imbued with the deepest respect for ancient usage that they should take delight in the reforming of abuses. One is, therefore, not surprised to find that imprisonment for debt is still legal in Jersey, that the interest on *rentes* or mortgages is still legally payable in kind, and that the Island retains its own peculiar system of weights and measures. In the quaint little streets about the Court House—the Lincoln’s Inn or Temple of St. Helier’s—the titles *Denonciateur*, *Advocate*, *Ecrivain*, *Notaire*—inscribed upon the big brass door-plates look curiously foreign, and the surnames written above them are seldomer English than French. Here are stowed away many an Act and Ordinance of which our law is ignorant. An interesting example is an act which chivalrously provides for the interests of the daughter in cases where the son is chief inheritor. The eldest girl shall claim, says the “*Echelle Loi*,” just so much of the land as lies between the foot of a ladder—whose topmost rung is placed against the roof—and the house; or else its monetary equivalent. The ladder must, of course, be steadied against the eaves; it is, therefore,

the slant of the roof which determines the width of the daughter's portion. The land thus measured off becomes her property on all four sides of the house. Nowadays a rope is generally found a convenient substitute for the *échelle*, but the "ladder-law" goes unrepealed. The same gallant attitude towards the weaker sex is apparent in the law which compels the male inheritor of property in Jersey to afford house-room to the late owner's widow—when he leaves one—and to make her an allowance equal in value to one-third of whatever he himself inherits. Married women are unsupported by a "Married Women's Property" Act—perhaps they do not feel its need—but an amicable agreement, known as a *separation quant aux biens* is often arrived at after marriage, and by this arrangement the wife resumes control of any income she possesses.

In the eyes of the law a Jersey woman never changes her name. She keeps her maiden appellation, whatever else betide, and though she be married three times over remains to her last day a "Demoiselle." There is, as yet, in Jersey no legal sanction for divorce. By a curious anomaly in legislation, however, the "Deceased Wife's Sister" Bill not long ago received the assent of the States. The up-to-date Briton has thus been left behind, outdone by the dweller in the retrograde, though fertile, little Island where flaunts the lofty cabbage and ripens soonest the potato.

EDITH ETHEL TOWGOOD.

OLD SIGNS AND THEIR ROOT MEANINGS.

(Continued from our last number.)

IT comes, therefore, to this : that the symbol Om is at bottom identical with the root of such words and concepts as the Iranian Haoma or Homa, the Indo-Aryan Soma, and the Latin Homo.

But the matter must be taken as set at rest by the picture given on the next page, where it would be seen that ॐ is simply the universal mother-mould into which the serpent, living symbol of male virility, breathes the regenerative fire drawn from the principle of universal warmth, Agni, at the bottom, the latter itself resting upon the lotus, *padma*. The words तत् तत् underneath the symbol ॐ, apart from the later transformation of the symbol into a metaphysical formula, would seem to mean simply ॐ, that is to say, the source of all that is. It need only be added that तत् (tat) here used is identical with, or rather the prototype of, the common vernacular word तत्ता (father). The symbol, taking all its parts together, simply means that the Father of the Universe has manifested himself as the pro-Creator and Sustainer of all that is. The picture here given is reproduced from the "Raja Yoga" of Swami Vivekananda.

There is evidence, I think, still extant in Iranian Scriptures that some such word as the symbol we are discussing existed among the old Iranians also, prior to the origin of this syllable Hom, but that the same was, for some reason or other, dropped, or fell out of use. Still the word occurs in the Avesta in more places than one. In the Behram-Yest, which is a glorification of full virile manhood, the praise of that Intelligence is joined to the praise of the beautiful Angel *Um*, and the same name occurs in three or four other places; but there is not an iota of evidence in the Avesta, apart from

the suggestiveness of its sound and the context in which it occurs, what this name or sound *Um* really meant. The sound is nearly the sound ओ, and the context gives to the subject-



matter of the sound the attribute of beauty, valour and procreative power. The significant point about the matter is, however, this—that beyond these two or three casual references to the existence and

attributes of this apparently unknown angel, he is practically dropped, as scarcely belonging to the active Intelligences who were the helpers of mankind. Possibly it proved too gross for the Iranian ear, and the Iranians lacked the metaphysical and mystical subtlety of their Indo-Aryan brethren to transform the offending sound into something ineffably innocent.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to refer to the "unknown God" to whom references occur in Greek antiquities and whose temple seems to have existed in Greece. He, too, seems to have dropped out of the then current theology, either because wanting in definite attributes or because of some opprobrious suggestiveness, though, it must be remembered that the last would not ordinarily be such a consideration as would repel that magnificent people, the Greeks, whose artistic tastes required the actual reproduction—not omission—of members which a later and more prudish age has thought fit to cover with the fig-leaf.

There is, in the Egyptian and Semitic Scriptures, the expression "The Voice made Truth"; but what that meant or means, has never been satisfactorily explained. The Voice has been variously explained as "The Word," "Logos," "Intelligence"; and "made Truth" has been applied to the birth of a child and to the child born, and particularly to the child Christ. The voice precedes the act of birth, and the child born is the voice made true or realised; the promise that was voiced at the conception realised. It is in this sense that the child is the promised one, the foreshadowed, the one looked forward to, the Redeemer. Now the question is *how voiced*? And why is the potentiality of the coming event called a *voice*? The *voice* or *word* is not this or that particular sound or word, but the voice or word in general—the generic essence of all language. That these considerations have a bearing upon the main question we have discussed, need not be pointed out, beyond suggesting that this singular phraseology, and whatever curious notions have gathered round the subject, point to the pre-existence of a sound which recalled that of the bull. The bull was the symbol of potency as well in the Universe as in man, in Egypt, Assyria, Persia, India, China and elsewhere, and the Iranian Scriptures expressly speak of "the seed of the Bull" and of the moon as the storehouse of it.

I think there is nothing opprobrious in the suggestion that a

word or a phrase which is now employed to express Man's highest spiritual conception expressed in the beginning something extremely material and gross. The process involved in this change has been inevitable, as the unknown and the abstract has to be expressed in terms of the known and the concrete. Jah, Jai, Joy are in all probability identical. It would seem that the abstract-looking "Mazd" (supreme wisdom) of Iranian Scriptures is not unconnected with some word which is expressive of "Joy," for which our vernacular word is मजेह (majeh), pleasure.

After this writer had proceeded thus far he came upon the following remarkable exposition of the sound *Om* in the "Bhakti Yoga" of Swami Vivekananda ; and so pertinent is it to the present discussion that the main portion of it has been cited below, the observations upon it following:—

"In the Universe Brahma or Hiranya-Garbha or the cosmic महत् (mahat) first manifested himself as name, and then as form, i.e., as the universe. All this expressed, sensible universe is the form behind which stands the eternal inexpressible स्फोट (*sphota*), the manifester as *Logos* or Word. This eternal *sphota*, the essential eternal material of all ideas or names, is the power through which the Lord creates the universe ; nay, the Lord first becomes conditioned as the *sphota* and then evolves Himself out as the yet more concrete Sensible universe. This *sphota* has one word as its only possible symbol, and this is the *Om*. And as by no possible means of analysis we can separate the word from the idea, this *Om* and the eternal *sphota* are inseparable ; and therefore it is out of this holiest of all holy words, the mother of all names and forms, the eternal *Om*, that the whole universe may be supposed to have been created. But it may be said that, although thought and word are inseparable, yet, as there may be various word-symbols for the same thought, it is not necessary that this particular word *Om* should be the word representative of the thought out of which the universe has become manifested. To this objection we reply that this *Om* is the only possible symbol which covers the whole ground, and there is none other like it. The *sphota* is the material of all words, yet it is not any definite word in its fully formed state. That is to say, if all the peculiarities which distinguish one word from another be removed, then what remains will be the *sphota* ; therefore this *sphota* is called the नादब्रह्म (*Nada-*

Brahma), the sound *Brahman*. Now, as every word-symbol, intended to express the inexpressible *sphota* will so particularise it that it will no longer be the *sphota*, the symbol which particularises it the least and at the same time most approximately expresses its nature, will be the truest symbol thereof; and this is the *Om*, and the *Om* only. . . . If properly pronounced, this *Om* will represent the whole phenomenon of sound-production, and no other word can do this; and this, therefore, is the fittest symbol of the *sphota*, which is the real meaning of the *Om*. And as the symbol can never be separated from the thing signified, the *Om* and the *sphota* are one. And as the *sphota*, being the finer side of the manifested universe, is nearer to God, and is, indeed, the first manifestation of Divine Wisdom, this *Om* is truly symbolic of God."

Now, what is all this but the imagery of the animal procreative act?—the real creation spoken of in all the Scriptures of the world, generalised, idealised and divinised, so to say, so that the divine act of cosmical creation and the human act of procreation are identified, the latter being but the objectification of the former and merely an empirical instance of the abstract ideas, the root of cosmic creation. But though the cosmic idea was thus, in the exigency of the problem, made the logical prius of the physiological, the physiological was none the less the temporal and empirical prius, and, therefore, none the less the foundation in actual fact of the conception of the assumed prototype. And hence we see here, in the attempted exposition of this mysterious sound *Om*, all the main features of the physiological process reproduced in the portrayal of the cosmic act.

To begin with : here is, in the first place, *Brahma* (Bra-ma), the breather of the breath of life in the mother, the same as the Bull of the mother—the clearest reference to the overthrow of the old mother cult of a biune God-head by the cult which recognised the male father as the true and the real creator or pro-creator, in other words, the supersession of the old god Narayana: the biune Nara + Yoni, the symbol of the old mother cult. With the *Brahma*, the breather of the breath of life in the mother, commenced the reign of the father, both on earth and in heaven. This *Brahma*, in the above-cited exposition, is admittedly the *Hiranaya-Garbha* which, any one can see, is literally no other than the Gold or Mani

in the Womb—the same as the Buddhistic Mani in the Lotus. This *Brahma*, alias *Hiraṇyā* Garbha—womb—is also the *Mahat* महत् equivalent to the Great and Strong One, the Prevailer, the Overcomer, ready for the act to manifest himself in this universe. And behind him stood, we are told, the expression (mark) *sphota* (स्फोट) i.e., the abstract spirit or idea of the act of bursting or splitting apart (२५२, ५२, फूटने) ; and this bursting or splitting—as of the mundane egg above spoken of—has one word as its only possible sound, i.e., the sound *Om* accompanying the act of bursting and splitting. Surely, this is very much like the never-to-be-uttered, but withal the never-to-be-resisted *Yvh* of Israel. Again, this is called in the exposition the first manifestation of *Divine Wisdom* ; but there is no denying that what is spoken of is an act in the physiological sense, and Wisdom is simply an euphemism. This transmuting of the more concrete into the more abstract, seems to account for the Iranian *Mazd* being made to mean Divine Wisdom, though that word has affinity only with *Majeh* (मजेह—Joy, Yevh—Jai). Can there, after this, be any reasonable doubt as to the substantial truth of the theory here advanced ? The cosmic and physiological creation are assumed to be essentially identical from first to last, even to the involuntary utterance of the sound of joy and triumph accompanying the latter, and the grossness of this last manifestation in its relation to cosmic creation is only done away with by elevating it into a Divine voice, that accompanied the act of creation itself, for “in the beginning (i.e., cosmical) was the Word, and the Word was made truth,” i.e., realised in concrete shape in the material universe even as the same voice uttered in the act of the Bull’s union with his mate was realised in the Calf that was born of the union. This was the young and bright Horus—the Iranian Ahur—the Vayirio—virile one.

To sum up the argument:—

1. This sound or syllable is a nasal intonation.
2. It is admittedly so old that its origin is unknown.
3. It is attributed to Godhead as his own voice.
4. It is styled “self-created.”
5. Its replica in connection with the “Samadhi” is said to be the voice of the Godhead within him to whom the subject of the meditation has become united.

6. The letters composing it cannot be shown to be the rudiments or remnants of any actual words in any language.

7. The attempted explanation of it belongs to a very late, enlightened and highly philosophical age.

8. This explanation is, on the face of it, too artificial, subtle and mystical to be of any practical use in determining what the sound originally was.

9. This explanation itself contains distinct reference to sexual powers, with which, indeed, it is openly identified, and this both in the Brahmanical and the Buddhistic formulas.

10. The sound is identical with the "Hom" of the Hom-yest, which is nothing but the spiritual counterpart of animal virility.

11. The Homo (L.) is Hom—the essence, the self-same—the source of individuality and personal identity.

12. The "Vishwa-nara" and "Pracriti" of the Brahmanical formula are identical with Buddhistic formula; the "mani in the lotus."

13. The syllable is only to be used by "the twice-born," that is, those in whom the pristine immature Mother-soul was completed by the later mature Father-soul, since the advent and triumph of the cult of the Father.

14. Obscure references to an "unknown God" exist in different Scriptures, but he was entirely undifferentiated and was silently allowed to be dropped out of the theogonies.

15. This unknown god in Iranian Scripture was called "Um"—and that this Um god is referred to in the Homa-yest and the Behram-yest as of a like nature with Hom and Behram: the youthful and the full-aged Homo; the fulness of youth and manhood.

16. The Iranians, a sister-race to the Indo-Aryans, have in their "Ahunver" or "Hon-ver" a formula of equal antiquity and obscurity, and the subject of interpretations of a like shadowy nature; and the "Hon" in this formula is akin in meaning to the Sanskrit "Om."

17. The "Ahunavar" or "Hon-ver" is probably identical with the Egyptian god "Un-nephr," the "good opener."

18. The picture given above confirms the view advanced here. The sound *ṁi* is seen to emerge of itself from the combination of the male and the female principles as depicted.

19. The exposition quoted from "Bhakti Yoga" only confirms the theory.

20. The existence of the sound Yhvh (Javeh) amongst the Jews, and its proscription offers a parallel to the refining away of the sound Aum.

21. The opprobriousness of this last-mentioned Semitic sound cannot possibly be denied by the natives of this country, particularly of Maharashtra where it is inconveniently common. It was probably imported by those communities of Yahoodis which are said to have lived in this country in the past and which gave to sections of its peoples names which are still in use, but which are distinctly Semitic, such as Dawood (David), Sulaman (Solomon), Yacoob (Jacob), &c.

Truly marvellous is the evolution of the human mind, and marvellous the struggle of the spirit to break through the bars of this his secular prison !

It has been suggested by Professor Chas. A. Dobson,* of St. George's College, Mussoorie, since the second part of this contribution appeared, that "*Om*" may have come from the Latin "*esse*," or Sanskrit "*esmi*," or the Zend "*Ahmi*" or the English "*am*." With great respect for the quarter from which the suggestion has come, this would be to place the cart before the horse. This would give the symbol a recent and very inadequate origin—inadequate in that it would fail altogether to account for the innumerable facts admittedly connected with it. The symbol demonstrably existed when the Vedic Agni-hymns were composed, as it is used at the commencement of these hymns. It exists demonstrably in the Avestaic words "*Hom*" and "*Um*." It existed in the name of the temples of Ammon in Lybia and Æthiopia, in the name of Omphalos, the Cretan city sacred to Jupiter, in the name of Omphale, the Lydian queen enamoured of Herakles. It was also in another name of the temple of Delphi, and it exists in the earliest word "*woman*," which is but a later form of "*vamon*" in the sense of the "*om*" or "*am*" or "*vam*," being at first the only independent existence perceived ; and "*am*" itself is but

* We have shown Prof. Dobson's letter, which appears on p. 1123 to Artaxerxes.—Ed., *East & West*.

"om," latterly "Hom," in the father-cult of Iran as early as the age of the Avesta. "Ahmi" is the Avestaic form for "am," and Hormuzd uses it for himself in the scores of personal names or attributes he claims for himself—the first of which reads "the desirable" or the "sought after." Indeed, it is apparent that "I" hath no other origin than the primitive "Yah," nor "am" than the equally primitive utterance "om." The first personal pronoun and the verb of existence have no other origin than the first supreme act of will. As to Jehovah's assertion "I am that I am" (Exodus,) the fact—assuming it to be so—would itself seem to make the idea conveyed by the syllable one of the earliest ever conceived. The assertion of personality in the "I am that I am" is itself the expression of the deeply-stirred consciousness of individuality which arose, as, indeed, it has continued to arise, on the momentous turning-point in human life when man or woman discerned the reproductive capacity, and the "I am that I am" would be only misread if taken as a metaphysical formula in the sense in which a modern philosopher would understand it, *i.e.* as the assertion of the Unity of Godhead. When Jehovah, or Moses for him, uttered the formula "I am that I am," he uttered only an oath, profuse as he was of oaths, to impress upon erring Israel that would not see that the cause of all birth and creation was He, the Father, and not any mere mother. Now the oath in antiquity was a solemn visual reference to what man and woman possessed as their peculiar prerogatives, and therefore a gift from God intended for God's own work. To understand the asseverative formula "I am that I am," there is the need for the imagination to conjure up the image of the speaker and the act or gesture that accompanied the expression, and what this act or gesture must have been can be easily conjectured when it is remembered how oaths were formerly, as indeed they still are, uttered amongst various peoples of the earth, especially the people of whom Israel formed part. The Arabs and many African races and many backward Indian communities are still in the habit of accompanying an oath by such physical reference. And in this connection it must be remembered that the word "Testament" itself contains in its composition a distinct indication of this practice. Swearing amongst most people is even to-day swearing in this and this way only, and street swearing in this country is peculiarly obnoxious in this respect. The most common

mode of swearing amongst certain natives of this country is by the mother or by the father, not "my mother" or "my father," but an impersonal entity, carrying us back to the times when people swore by the mother or the father of their respective cults. The oath, in short, is nothing else than a reference, in the vehemence of feeling, to whatever for the time being is the highest in communal consciousness. There is also equal warrant for this suggestion in the oldest Avesta and the Vedas, as in the oldest Hebrew Testament. Ahur Mazd, when prayed to by Zerhost to explain the famous old prayer *Hon-ver, On-nephr*—proceeds to do so (*Yasna*, No. XIX.) in a way which, after some innocent and relevant explanation, simply resolves itself into "It is this." The reader of the text recording the conversation, expecting to be further enlightened, proceeds with Ahur's exposition, but the "this" is nowhere found, until it dawns upon him, as it did upon the writer when he came upon the "I am that I am" of Exodus, that the "this" in Ahur's (*i.e.* his prophet's) exposition was probably only a gesture of indication, and not the commencement of any overt exposition. It must be remembered that of the hundred names which diverse peoples have given each to their Supreme God the first has distinctly such reference, and this fact clearly explains the real meaning "I am that I am," and the "Ahmi" or "I" of the Avesta. The second "I am" in the above assertion is only a repetition of the first "I am," uttered in the heat of anger or earnestness, and categoric assertiveness of the kind is even now followed by such subsiding echoes of the original exclamation, as in "I said so and so—I did"; "I will do so and so—I will." The Hebrews themselves, however, do not admit the correctness of the translation "I am that I am." The Hebrew word is said to transliterate into *Ahiyeh* in which "Ah" represents "I," but in the sound "yeh" we recognise the *Yah* and *Jah* already noticed. "I am" or "am" is not Hebrew, but English of the Hebrew word above named, and "om" cannot by any ingenuity be derived from *Ahiyeh*, but this "yeh" will be seen to be but the Semitic counterpart of the Egyptian and the Indian "Om"—both being sounds or involuntary exclamations of anticipated victory and joy. The view advanced has this remarkable significance, *viz.*, that the very origin of the first personal pronoun "I," the first distinct self-consciousness of self-hoo

or personality, arose from this primitive assertion of a unique physical prerogative. It must be remembered that, assuming the origin of the sound to have been what it is suggested to have been, it would be perfectly irrelevant, nay unintelligent, to require the establishment of the theory on philological grounds. Such tests are and can only be applicable to later growths and transmutations of articulate words. The time we are considering, however, *ex hypothesi* preceded language itself, when clicks and mere vocal sounds, not even articulate syllables, much less words, were all the means that existed for the purpose of intercourse. "Ahum" or "Ahmi" is the form of the first personal pronoun "I," "me," "us," and the English "am" is no other than this form. The Prakrit forms are the same as in अहमे, अहमी, अहम्, and if the Sanskrit form is "asmi," this is only another instance of the conscious and studied linguistic variation resorted to by the Indian Aryans from the form adopted by their Iranian brothers, just as the "homa," "ahur" and "Hapt Hendu" of the latter were changed into the "soma," "asura" and the "septa sindhu" of the former. The change of the "h" to "s" and *vice versa* seems to correspond to the genius of the cult which each branch of the race seems to have favoured, the "h" having been adopted by those who adopted the cult of the father, and the "s" by those who adopted the cult of the mother or favoured equally between the two. The sibilant "s" is appropriate to the ideas of softness and femininity, as the guttural "h" to vigour and manliness. This writer believes that it is perfectly possible from the Avesta and the Vedas to discover the real grounds of separation between these two famous branches of the Aryan race; but this is scarcely a place for such a disquisition.

It is possible that objection may be raised to the fundamental basis of these speculations, that modern words representing now at least the most generalised and abstract conceptions are traced to their original and remotest roots, and inferences are drawn as if these roots formed the content of actual present consciousness. This, no doubt, would be a legitimate observation to make only, it is submitted, in cases where the evolution of words is entirely left to itself and old root-meanings are allowed to die and drop out of consciousness altogether with the everwidening connotations in time of the derivative words. For instance, the words "Man," "Mind," "Virtue," "Purity,"

&c., have, it will be said, so entirely got out of their original material meanings that it would be the height of folly for any one now to argue that "man" and "mind" mean only "meni," or that virtue has reference merely to the male attribute, or that purity simply means personal cleanliness or segregation. But words have not, unfortunately, been allowed thus to disentangle themselves, and from varying motives, some of the most important concepts have continued down to a very late age to be linked to their original moorings. These concepts seem from the earliest times to have become the battle-ground of rival speculations and creeds, and, as we shall easily find, even where the ghosts of old controversies have been laid—let us hope for ever—the material meanings have been kept alive in some cases by sheer inability to grasp a spiritual truth without a material image ; in others, by the hitherto unaccounted practice of adopting a double mode of written communication, one pictorial and hieroglyphical, and the other alphabetic. Why this should have been so in Egypt down to the times when it became a province of the Roman Empire and when alphabetic writing, as we understand it, existed and was employed in the country, and why the hieroglyphics should have been simultaneously in use is a moot question. Possibly the pictures in this case were used as simply determinatives to define the intended from the cognate meaning of the words used, or from old habit sanctified by time. But the main cause of the continuance in later consciousness of material roots was the continued existence of controversial faiths and speculations, and the practice, apparently universal of antiquity, of making a mystery and a monopoly of knowledge and to that intent of wrapping it up in allegories. There can be no honest doubt that the chief writings of antiquity that have come down to us, the Vedas, the Avesta, the Old Testament, the Sagas, and even the great Epics of India, Greece and Rome, have all in part a hidden meaning intended for particular classes, chiefly sacerdotal and the literati, though conveyed in a setting, no doubt, of some history or tradition or facts of social economy. Where religious controversies raged, and the cause of the one or the other side had to be served, whether by an Epic or a Gospel, the obvious means to inculcate the truths and points of view advocated or condemned would be so to write as to convey one meaning or no meaning to the people in general but another to the adepts. This

would require that the language used should not be the language in common use among the people, but some specially elaborated form of it or some combination which would be understood not only by the adepts of the country itself but by those of the like classes elsewhere, for, it can scarcely be denied in the face of the large body of the evidence and the weight of probability that exists, that the sacerdotal and the learned classes of all the chief countries in antiquity were connected in some way or other and were in communication with each other, especially on the subject which they had made their own. In no other way, it is submitted, can the marked resemblances, at times identity, of the speculations of one country with those of another, be accounted for. The chief tenets of Egypt are found in Palestine, Iran and India, and sometimes the very phraseology of the one is reproduced only thinly disguised in the others. It is impossible to deny that Ahur is a derivative of the Egyptian Horus, or that the same Horus as fished out from the primeval waters—the red young Sun—was the Indian Vishnú, ‘nú’ being the Egyptian for water, and Vishnu was, according to the Hindu mythos, so fished out. It is undeniable that the Old Testament reproduces some things from the Egyptian Book of the Dead, and the Avesta and the Vedas do the same. And the Koran owes not a little to them all except the Vedas—dogmas, conceptions, forms of thought and expression evidencing apparent knowledge. If the theory advanced is probable, we have an explanation of the probability that the special languages invented for the purposes suggested would be such as would be mutually understood by those concerned, and that they were not the spoken languages of the people at all, but simply sacred to religious faiths—a form of Sanskrit, that is to say “*Sanctum scriptum*.” It is clear that the Avestaic and the Vedic Sanskrit have so marked a resemblance that it is comparatively easy for a scholar knowing the one to understand the other, and it is said that the Hebrew of the Old Testament bears some resemblance to both. The upshot of the argument is, how can the material foundations of such concepts as “Man” and “Omnipotent” entirely disappear when they are kept alive by such formulas as “Om mani padma Om,” and such diagrams as the one given above?

For the wide diffusion of the syllable in early history and theology the curious reader may be referred to Higgin’s “Anacalypsis,”

and for a clear account of the genesis of the cults here distinguished by the words "father" and "mother," to the works of Mr. G. Massey, both works containing, with all their drawbacks, rare pre-historic matter and suggestive trains of thought, but both out of print because of their want of orthodoxy. It is sad to have to note, in the year of Grace 1902, how much that passes as true in early history is pure fiction misunderstood.

ARTAXERXES

A CONTRAST.

IT is not uncommon in the present day to hear some comparison drawn between the achievements of Western and of Hindoo civilisation. I propose to consider briefly how this comparison strikes a Western mind.

I do not think, in the first place, that it often occurs to a European to make the comparison at all. Western civilisation we feel to be a creation of mankind: Hindoo civilisation is the work of a single people. It is, therefore, to begin with, difficult to take the comparison seriously. However, let us attempt it and see what it leads to.

Western civilisation is not, as is sometimes said, "an affair of yesterday"; it began, one may say, four thousand years ago. We are thinking, of course, not of the "ancient Britons," but of the Jews. In no sense a Western people, they supply, nevertheless, what is historically the oldest and in some ways the most important foundation of our spiritual life. Chronologically, however, their influence follows that of the Greeks, or rather unites with it in the form of Christianity. After Greece, Rome; after Rome, Roman Christianity, the Mediæval Church. Contemporary with the latter, the Crusades, and the growth of chivalry. Finally, the Renaissance and the modern world.

These are the epochs, and the names of the chief nations and systems that have made Europe. What are the ideas that Europe has drawn from their various sources? From the Jews, an impulse towards Monotheism, so strong that it has swept away the natural tendency of *all* European people towards Polytheism; moreover, a moral impulse, the lesson that God searches the hearts of men. From the Greeks we learned curiosity, the desire to

know, whose fruits appear in their histories, in their science,* their criticism, and their philosophy. With this curiosity went freedom, a power of shaking off the trammels of the past, which other races wear without even perceiving them. We learned, too, the love of beauty, and the conception of beauty as something more than a delight of the senses, as a form of order imposed on the natural wildness and luxuriance of the world. In the region of moral ideas, they have left much of which the value is not yet exhausted, but they have not directly moulded the character of Europe. The great moral impulse came from Rome. The Western world still feels, in every nation, the impulse of the Roman ideal ; inflexible in peace and war ; devoted to order and justice. With this is allied the stoic philosophy of conduct. The Greek and Roman ideals have this in common, that they contemplate the citizen as a public man, serving the State.

We pass on to the middle ages. We find in religion the growth of the ideal of austerity, so different from that of the Greek. We find, too, the Church inheriting the work of Rome, imposing a community of sentiment on the varying nations of Europe. In the secular world we have chivalry which develops to its utmost the personality of man, insisting on personal devotion to a leader, personal devotion to a woman. Very different is the world of chivalry from the world of law ; yet both systems grow throughout the middle ages side by side.

Then comes the Renaissance, which kindles again the sense of beauty, in painting, sculpture and poetry. Finally, the modern world achieves political stability (in which connection England has taught men most), and rises to the conception of Natural Law and its investigation.

These many influences are not dormant. Every Christian is taught the Bible, and at least every Sunday many thousands of more or less trained teachers are at work, expounding some form of Christianity. Greek philosophy is studied in every University in Europe ; Roman law by every lawyer, Roman literature by every educated man. The ideas of chivalry permeate all our

* It is remarkable that though the Greeks were real and successful investigators in the world of science, their work here did not survive them, unless we believe that some impulse derived from their writings was communicated to modern times through the Arabs.

songs and poetry. Political responsibility is, in England at any rate, a fact with which most men have been practically acquainted for centuries. Thus every educated man enters into the varied field of ideas which we have surveyed.

How, then, does Hindooism compare with this? Shall I make the comparison or leave it to the Hindoo? To me, at least, it appears superfluous. In art, in science, in law and politics, in that variety of human types on which the universal interest of literature depends, any sort of comparison seems needless. In philosophy and ethics a comparison may, of course, be made.

But what is the moral of this? Certainly not that any Western stranger cares to enjoy a triumph over the Hindoo. As I have said, he does not want to compare the achievements of one race with those of mankind. But he does not want the Hindoo to waste his time over the comparison either. He wants him to enter the community of races, to take his share in the inheritance. Moreover, he wants him to give what he has to give to the common stock; and there is, at any rate, one such thing, perhaps two. Hindoo sages have said much to remind us that the life of the soul is more than riches; and we in the West sometimes forget this. They have again expressed in the most forcible (though in a one-sided) manner the need for unity between man and God, and the dependence of all things on Him. There are signs that these ideas of Hindooism have attracted not only some charlatans, but some thoughtful people; and I believe their influence is destined to increase.

If so, history will only be repeating itself. The West has always shown itself willing to learn from the East. The Jews we have spoken of; Greek art began with hints from Assyria; Christianity probably assimilated theosophical elements, Buddhistic or other; Chivalry took something from the Arabs and Persians whom it met in the Crusades. There will be nothing surprising if the religious sense of the West again fortifies itself from springs of Eastern inspiration.

Let Hindoos, however, not misunderstand this. If the West borrows from the East, it will not be to renounce those truths of her own which the East has yet to learn from her. Let Hindooism bear this well in mind, or she will be left, after all, with empty

self-conceit instead of progress. There are signs which bring this contingency painfully near. There is no doubt that many Hindoos have accepted as very flattering the interest which Western thinkers have shown in Sanscrit philosophy ; and they have a right (if they wish) to be proud of this. But they rest content here. The labour with which the West has purchased that interest finds no counterpart among them. What evidence is there that any Hindoo has studied the West with the same ardour as our learned Sanscritists have shown ? Where is the Hindoo, for instance, that has studied those Greek and Latin classics through which alone the West can be understood ?

Hindoos need not doubt that the persistent spirit of the West, which treasures above all things the desire to learn, will value gratefully the best lesson of their civilisation. But let them repay this, to their own advantage, with an effort of the same kind. Now is the acceptable time.

J. N. FRASER.

THE INDIAN POLICE.

BENTHAM says that "Police is in general a system of precaution, either for the prevention of crime or of calamities. It is destined to prevent evils and provide benefits." So the State employs a Police force for the public welfare only. Police officers are the instruments by means of which conformity to the laws of the land is secured.

Now the question is whether in India the Police has been able to secure the public confidence, which it ought to, in virtue of its high calling. As matters stand, on the contrary, it is the terror of the ryots; and even by the middle classes it is looked upon with suspicion, fear and distrust.

The reason is not far to seek. Every District contains 6 or 7 Police stations. The jurisdiction of each of the "Thanas," as they are generally called, extends over a very wide area which is seldom less than 15 miles square, and each of the Thanas is placed in the charge of a Sub-Inspector of Police, drawing a salary of Rs. 30 or 40, who is expected to proceed in person to investigate even the minor offences and to hold inquests upon bodies, to attend fairs and markets and perform a thousand other duties which mean constant travelling. So he has to keep at least a horse and a cook. The expense of keeping the animal and the servants alone exceeds his salary. Were it an understood matter that such officers are not to have perquisites in addition, nobody would care for the office of a Sub-Inspector of Police. The striking feature of it all is the extraordinary powers with which a Sub-Inspector of Police is vested: he can investigate crimes of the highest magnitude: he can on a mere pretence apprehend people of the highest respectability: he may send the parties to a magistrate under arrest or release them on bail: he may enter and search houses: may take evidence for his

own information and guidance in the investigation of cases : may compel the attendance of witnesses and question them. Yet the officer who is clothed with these powers is very often a man of no education and little respectability. No wonder that considerable sums are exacted by the Police with scarcely a chance of detection. For instance, a murder is committed : the Sub-Inspector proceeds to the village, summons all the inhabitants of that and of other villages in the neighbourhood, if he chooses, apprehends at least half of them, to whom he hints that they will have to go before the magistrate. This produces a bribe from each. In an affray between two villages there is a fine field for perquisites to the Police. Should a traveller be robbed of some petty article, and he is proceeding in an opposite direction from that in which the magistrate's court is situate, the securing of the thief only means that the person robbed has to pay for the privilege of proceeding in his own way without risk of a month's detention. The thief, on the other hand, willingly pays a good sum. So few are the theft cases that result in the recovery of the stolen property, that people generally do not report petty thefts; but the Sub-Inspector, in almost all cases, gets information from the village watchman, and at once proceeds to the spot and realises a good sum to hush up the affairs. *Apropos* of the village watchman, the provisions regarding him are theoretically good enough, but what is the true state of affairs ? A real watchman scarcely exists in India. Though his appointment is in the hands of the village headman, yet after his appointment he is placed directly under the Sub-Inspector of Police; and then the only work he does is to help the Sub-Inspector to extort money from the villagers by informing him of all the petty details of his village. But why blame the poor Sub-Inspector ? He finds himself an independent ruler and yields to temptation, there being nobody to deter him. The District Magistrate and his deputies are too much occupied with revenue and other work ; their object generally is to arrange Police affairs in such a way that these may occupy as little time and cause as little trouble as possible.

It may be asked why the people do not complain. But why should they ? In nearly all instances, it is true, they only pay the Police to induce them not to do their duty. But is it not human to prefer giving a small *douceur* in order to avoid the worry, the trouble

and the expense of a magisterial court, not to speak of the danger of a possible prosecution in case of resistance to the will of the Police? How they can purchase peace, they know ; how they can purify justice, passes their understanding.

The question which naturally arises is : what is the best mode of improving the Police and preventing the abuses which now exist. There seem to be only two ways—better pay and stricter surveillance. Better pay will introduce into the establishment a more respectable class of men, and strict surveillance will deter them from abusing their powers. No amount of salary will make a Police officer honest if the supervision is lax, for the temptations in his way are great. On the other hand, no respectable person can be expected to take up the heavy responsibility of a Sub-Inspector of Police on a low pay. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the change would entail no great expense, for some time ago the subordinate staff was unreasonably increased, so that now there are three or four Sub-Inspectors in charge of every Thana. The experiment has been anything but a success ; for in former years, when only one Sub-Inspector used to be in charge of a Thana, he used to get in the natural course of things, from the wide extent of the country under his jurisdiction, enough to satisfy himself with, without recourse to creating occasions for extorting money. The Police now actually create crimes, in order that they may make money thereby. As the higher inspecting staff was reduced to meet the expenses of the increase in the subordinate staff, the scheme has proved to be just the one which most efficiently defeats the object in view. Now, if in place of three Sub-Inspectors a respectable man with a salary of Rs. 100 a month was placed in charge of a Police station, all these anomalies would vanish.

To put honesty and uprightness into the rotten Police force, it will be necessary to take very strong measures in the beginning : things done half-heartedly will never succeed. To begin with, if we want an efficient Police, we must relieve the District Magistrate of his heavy work and allow him some time to mix with the people and more freely in the District, and see with his own eyes how his real work is getting on. I call it "real," for that alone can diffuse a sense of security among the humbler classes, on which all good feelings and loyalty depend. The result of the free communication with the

people will be that few of the above-mentioned peccadilloes of the Police will escape his notice. Of course he cannot be expected to be everywhere, but the ideal to be aimed at is, that somebody representing him should be always and everywhere accessible, competent to give a patient hearing and a decision based on sound principles. To do so it will not be necessary to increase the number of magistrates. There are in every district men whose local knowledge and influence would be of immense value, if they were appointed Honorary Magistrates and Munsifs. Their jurisdiction ought to be limited to fifty or sixty villages, so that they may remain in touch with those whose welfare they are bound to promote. To help them in their work, village Panchayats should be organised. These Panchayats will help the magistrate to travel over a vaster area than he is at present able to visit, while the Panchayats themselves will settle many a petty dispute, and indirectly foster a healthy public opinion, which will check all sorts of abuses. These Panchayats, when in full working order, may be allowed to elect their own magistrates, while the village watchmen should be placed directly under them. If competent zamindars are not available, pleaders, whose number is every day increasing, may well be utilised to do this good work by offering them a small percentage on all the civil cases that they may decide.

Finally, the District Superintendent of Police should be no longer left to attend to the investigation of cases by fits and starts, but must devote his whole time to it. Relieved by his assistant or the Court Inspector from the details of his office work at the headquarters, which consists in hearing the reports, he should be enabled constantly to be making tours in his District, and ought to be directed to investigate all serious crime personally, going about in the District and mixing with Panchayats and the magistrates.

It can be reasonably hoped that if these suggestions are carried out, and if the District magistrate, his Deputies and the District Superintendents of Police exercise strict surveillance over every one connected with the establishment, the Police will become in time the protector of the poor, which it ought to be, and it will cease to be the terror of people. Under divine blessings the result will be very different from what it has hitherto been.

JOGENDRA SINGH.

"THE CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER."

ANYONE entering upon an exceedingly difficult and serious undertaking may be presumed to have in view some definite goal which he is striving to attain. A perusal of the article in the July number of *East & West*, on "The Church and Biblical Criticism," suggests the inquiry as to what is the "conclusion of the whole matter," which is desired by the exponents of the higher criticism. Are they iconoclasts, pure and simple? Or have they any alternative in view, which may be substituted for the general belief of Christendom? I am not here concerned with any inquiry as to whether their methods are scientific and their deductions firmly substantiated, or the reverse. The assailants of traditionalism have aroused a swarm of defenders of orthodoxy; and of the writing of books on either side of the great controversy there is apparently no end. But if the higher criticism would, in unmistakable terms, define its ultimate object, and tabulate the issues which have to be decided, a considerable advance towards finality might be achieved. It is, perhaps, not too much to ask of the advocates of rationalism that they should state their views on this momentous question. In the article in the July number of this journal a point of the most supreme importance has been studiously ignored. Throughout the article, the application of the term "Biblical criticism" has been strictly limited to the Old Testament. On the assumption that the criticism has generally crushed its opponents, the writer asks, "In what way and to what extent any real Christian verity is touched, lowered, or weakened by that result?" The answer is clearly meant to be a negative one. It would apparently follow that the real Christian writers are unaffected by a demonstration that the books of the Old Testament are not to be relied upon as records of the past. This contention would never be allowed to pass unchallenged by the ranks of the

orthodox ; for, where would the Christian scheme of salvation stand, if its very foundations were destroyed by the negation of the original curse, consequent on the Fall, upon all mankind, which rendered necessary the great sacrifice at Calvary ? But apart from this and other considerations, regarding the insoluble connection that is alleged to exist between the Old and New Testaments, is it conceivable that the writer is ignorant of the fact that the higher criticism attacks the New Testament no less directly than the Old ? Its miracles have been assailed as vehemently as those of mediæval Europe, not so much on the ground that miracles are impossible as that evidence of their occurrence is lacking. The founder of the Christian religion is stated to be no more than a great religious reformer who taught the superiority of the spirit over the letter. All this may be the purest assumption ; and the New Testament records may be unimpeachable. But the higher criticism is insistent that what is regarded as absolute fact is but the merest tradition which there is no call upon us to accept.

What, then, is the "conclusion of the whole matter" which we are invited to face ? The subject admits of no shirking or reservation. Let every English-speaking man and woman be familiarised with, and convinced by, the higher criticism. What result is to be expected, or aimed at ? Are the churches to be closed when the traditional structure of their creeds has been torn down ? Will agnosticism be openly professed by every one ? What will be the general phase of morality, when it is found that what has hitherto been regarded as its support is devoid of stability ? Will Unitarianism which, while denying the divinity of Christ, yet considers itself Christian, and in some vague and undefinable way looks up to the Christian "Saviour," become the prevailing creed ? Or will faith assume still broader and more shadowy outlines, such as are presented by the Brahmo Somaj, void of all definition, and independent of the authority of any Scriptures ? Let the advocates of the criticism say plainly what they are driving at ; the result that they desire for the Church as a whole, for the individual parishes of England, whether in the country or the town, for the congregation and for the minister.

LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN GUJARAT.

(THE MATAR TALUKA.)

THE taluka of Matar in the Kaira district is very unhealthy. The inhabitants of this taluka suffer principally from malarial fever, diarrhoea and dysentery. The Revision Survey Report of the taluka gives the mortality figures, for one year, of seven villages in the taluka, and therefrom it appears that the mortality in the villages respectively was 311, 294, 285, 184, 143, 100, and 62 per thousand. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 7.) The inhabitants of Matar are reputed to be less industrious and energetic than those of the healthier talukas of the district, and that must be mainly owing to the unhealthiness of the climate.

2. The Dharalas (kolis) and the like castes form the bulk of the agricultural population of the taluka. In 29 out of 74 villages the entire population consisted of Dharalas and other similarly low castes, and in 55 villages they formed 80 per cent. of the population. It was in 3 villages only that the high caste cultivators exceeded in number half of the entire population. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 74.)

3. The Kolis of Matar had the reputation of being a lawless and good-for-nothing class of the population under former Governments and in the earlier period of British rule. They have been since reclaimed and made to abandon the profession of robbers, and to take steadily to agriculture as a means of earning an honest livelihood. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 16.)

4. Before the original survey, the amount of Government demand was determined by Panches who were appointed for the purpose; they, in fixing the rates of the demand, took into consideration the agricultural skill and wealth of the cultivators, and did not allow themselves to be guided merely by the quality of the soil. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 7.)

5. In the Matar Taluka, as a consequence of the poverty of the soil, a large quantity of arable land has always remained unoccupied.

Out of a total area of about 75,000 acres of Government arable land, under the prices that ruled up to 1857-8, the cultivators were not able to bring more than 27,000 acres under cultivation. The subsequent rise in prices stimulated an increase of cultivation and expanded the occupied area by a half as much more of what it was in 1857. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 19.)

6. The assessment of the taluka, even as it existed before the original survey, had been pronounced by officers of experience, who were in charge of the district from time to time, to be heavy, and so heavy that if it had not been for the existence of alienated lands, the revenue could never have been realised. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 16.)

7. Previous to the original survey remissions of revenue had to be granted every year. In 1849 Rs. 23,500 had to be remitted out of a total demand of Rs. 1,52,000, and in 1854 Rs. 10,000 had to be remitted out of a total demand of about Rs. 1,75,000. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 13.) Another circumstance, which shews the high pitch of assessment and indicates that it impeded the expansion of cultivation, is that, while the proportion of alienated to the entire area cultivated was 50 per cent., the average proportion of alienated land cultivated to the entire area cultivated was 62 per cent.

8. The original survey settlement of the Matar Taluka was made by Captain, subsequently Colonel, Prescott, Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Settlement, Gujarat, in 1862, and it was sanctioned by the Government of Bombay by their Resolution No. 2427 of 27th July, 1864. The revision survey settlement was made by Mr. F. R. Fernandez, Deputy Superintendent, Revenue Survey in Gujarat, in 1893, and was sanctioned by the Government of Bombay by their Resolution No. 1082 of the 10th of February, 1894. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 6.)

9. The following is the description of the condition of the Matar agriculturist as noticed by Captain Prescott :—

"The population is entirely agricultural and is principally composed of Kolis, although there are a great number of Kunbis, Patedars and Rajputs and a good many cultivating Mussulmans. *Many of the Kolis are nearly as skilful and industrious cultivators as Kunbis*, possess good houses and a great deal of agricultural stock." (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 4.)

10. Captain Prescott was of opinion that the taluka at the then existing prices, with the advantage of the railway that was then just constructed, could, without difficulty, pay an assessment 40 or 50 per

cent. heavier than it did at the time of his report; but considering some other facts, he thought it proper to raise the general pitch of assessment for the whole taluka by 10 per cent. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., pp. 6 and 10.)

11. Before Captain Prescott's settlement the rates of assessment in the taluka varied from Rs. 9-14-8 to Rs. 1-10-6 per acre. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 7.) By his settlement he fixed the maximum soil rates for villages in group (1) at Rs. 4-12, for villages, in group (2) at Rs. 4-8, for those in the group (3) at Rs. 4-4, and those in group (4) at Rs. 4-0 per acre. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 9.)

Besides this, the rice lands were charged with water-rates varying from Rs. 4 to Rs. 2-8 per acre, and the bhatta lands with water-rates of Rs. 8 to Rs. 9 per acre for 16 annas of classification. In some cases the water classification was run up as high as 24 annas, and then the maximum water-rates reached Rs. 6 for rice lands and Rs. 13-8 for bhatta lands. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 8.) Besides this, lands within a certain distance from rivers were charged with Dhekudiat rates of Rs. 2 per acre. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., pp. 8 and 9.) The Statement which would shew the percentage of increase in each village as the result of Captain Prescott's settlement has not been published; but in some villages the increase was more than 100 per cent. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 19.)

12. Captain Prescott considered that the talukā was not over-assessed, and was able to bear without difficulty a large increase in the assessment, because there was an increase of 32 per cent. in the population, of 26 per cent. in the number of ploughs, and of 12 per cent. in the number of wells in the course of 40 years immediately preceding, and an increase of 14 per cent. in the number of acres cultivated in the course of 23 years, and the remissions of revenue during the period were only 1-66 per cent., and the price of produce had risen extraordinarily, being then double of what they had been in 1856. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 6.) Captain Prescott, however, proposed what he supposed to be a moderate increase of 10 per cent., for the reasons that it was doubtful whether the prices then ruling would be maintained, that there was an extraordinary inequality in the then existing rates, that in Jetalpur and Dholka, the talukas of the Ahmedabad District which bordered on Matar, the assessments had been considerably reduced by the survey, that the maximum dry-crop rates in the villages of these talukas which adjoin Matar were only Rs. 1-12, 2-0, 2-4 and 2-8 per

acre, and that, therefore, great discontent would be caused by raising the assessment to a pitch much heavier than what existed. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 7.)

13. Mr. Hadow, the Collector of Kaira, in his letter forwarding to the Commissioner, N. D., Captain Prescott's report, unhesitatingly expressed his dissent from the view of Captain Prescott that the taluka was under-assessed. In connection with the question of the increase of cultivation, he considered that the apparent spread was no indication of any real increase, but was due, firstly, to concealed cultivation that had been going on for years and was being brought to account from year to year as the time for the introduction of the Revenue Survey operations, when such extensive frauds might be exposed, approached; and secondly, to the fact that there had been no exact measurement of the lands, but their areas were described by ashra bighas, which were larger than the bighas according to actual measurement. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 17.) In connection with the increase of population, he was of opinion that it was doubtful whether it operated and would continue to operate, favourably or unfavourably. He did not think that the high prices that then ruled would be maintained. He considered that the rates for the rice lands, which were inferior to those of Jetalpur in Ahmedabad, while the culture in Matar was more precarious and quite as expensive, were somewhat heavy, and with reference to dry-crop lands he was of opinion that no valid grounds had been shewn for raising the then existing rates. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 19.)

14. The Commissioner, in his reply dated February, 1863, to the above letter of the Collector, expressed his views to the effect that as the railway had just been opened and as the traffic had become hardly developed, the Matar Taluka would be placed in an advantageous position in respect to large markets, and the increase in prices would be maintained even if the cotton crisis and the other circumstances temporarily affecting prices ceased to operate. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 20.) He also thought that Captain Prescott had not given sufficient weight to the fact that villages inhabited wholly by Kolis or wild tribes are not to be classed with those in which other castes chiefly reside, even if the soil, climate and access to markets be in all respects the same. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 21.) In connection with 14 villages he found that the increase in the assessment was of more than 50 per cent., and he sent back the papers in order that they might be entered at special rates, and deductions proposed so as to bring the

increase within that percentage, with the object of avoiding making increases which might be too sudden and too heavy; and he also asked Captain Prescott that where, on calculation, he should find the increase likely to bear hardly on the cultivators, he might lower the village a class. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 22.)

15. Captain Prescott, in accordance with the suggestions of the Commissioner, proposed revised rates for the 14 villages to which the Commissioner had referred, by the reduction of the maximum rate of Rs. 4-8 to Rs. 3-12 in two villages and to Rs. 4 in four villages, of the maximum rate of Rs. 4-4 to Rs. 3-8 in two villages, to Rs. 3-12 in one village, and to Rs. 4 in four villages, and of the maximum rate of Rs. 4 to Rs. 3-8 in one village. (Government Selections ccci., N. S., p. 25.)

16. After this reduction the increase of assessment, as the effect of the survey settlement, was nominally 5 per cent.; but when it is considered that while under the old system where fields were partially cultivated the assessment was proportional to the extent of cultivation, but under the new system, under like circumstances, assessment on the whole number was to be leviable, the real increase came to about 18 per cent. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 29.)

17. In his letter to the Collector, submitting the reduced rates, Captain Prescott confesses that he did share to some extent the Collector's fears that the rates proposed were too high, and that an increase of revenue might have been obtained at the price of over-assessing the taluka. He, however, thought that the following considerations justified him in treating the fears as not well founded:—

(a) While the settlement was progressing, from 200 to 300 petitions for taking up waste lands or asserting claims to occupied lands used to be received. (b) Nearly every field thrown up by the occupant was applied for, and no number cultivated in 1862-63 was likely to remain waste in 1863-64. (c) That villagers who first grumbled and refused to take up fields for the following year, after a few weeks of consideration, agreed finally to keep the lands, as they were afraid that their lands would be taken up for cultivation. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 33.)

18. It should be noted that Captain Prescott was writing this at a time when the prices had become considerably inflated in consequence of the American War, that the period from 1856-57 to 1863-64 was the one in which the prices of produce had risen continuously and without interruption by leaps and bounds, that in consequence of the construction of railways and other causes there was then a considerable demand for

labour, and that a rise in prices and other causes had given a great stimulus to the increase of cultivation. The demand for agricultural lands was the only ground on which Captain Prescott deemed that the apprehension of over-assessment was not well founded; but when it was found that that demand had been the result of causes which had only a temporary operation, it followed that the enhancement of assessments which he proposed had no justification.

19. The revised proposals of Captain Prescott were submitted by the Collector to the Commissioner, and by the Commissioner to Government, and Government accorded them their sanction by their Resolution No. 2927 of 27th July, 1864. The Commissioner in his report said that the increase could not be regarded great, and he relied on the eagerness of the cultivators to take up waste lands and the high value they put upon occupancy rights as testimony showing the fairness of the proposed assessment. The Government of Bombay, in sanctioning the settlement, stated that, although the rates recommended were considerably higher than those introduced in the adjoining villages of the Ahmedabad District, they appeared to Government with the modifications made in them by the Revenue Commissioner, N.D., not higher than could be easily borne.

20. The following appear to me to be the effects of the settlement :

(a) The extent of the occupied area, which was slowly increasing, became very sensitive to the effects of the seasons and to changes in the prices of produce. Thus, though the area occupied in consequence of the operation of temporary causes had increased from 40,838 acres in 1862-63, the year of Captain Prescott's report, to 42,979 acres in 1870-71, it then commenced gradually to diminish till it came down to 37,506 acres in 1875-76. It afterwards increased till it reached the figure of 43,072 acres in 1891-92 (Government Selections, No. ccci., p. 19). The occupied area has much diminished since. Then in connection with the economic condition of the taluka I do not find any materials to compare the condition between the original settlement and the revised settlement; but the revised settlement report made in 1893 gives some statistics of 1886-87 and 1891, from which it appears that while the plough cattle in 1886-87 were 14,500, in 1891 they decreased to 13,061,—a decrease of nearly 10 per cent.; and ploughs, which in 1886-87 were 7,142, decreased to 6,938,—a decrease of nearly 2½ per cent.—notwithstanding that there was an increase in the area under cultivation, during the period. (Government Selections, No. ccci., p. 8.)

21. There is another circumstance which also shows the economic

effect of the settlement. In para. 9 above has been described the condition of the Matar agriculturists at the time of the original settlement. The following extract from the Revision Survey Report of 1893 denotes the change that had occurred in their condition in the interval :—

“The Kunbis are chiefly found in the villages north of an east and west line drawn through Traj and in the border villages in the south, while the intervening area is mainly in the possession of Kolis and Rajputs. The Kunbis, as usual, are thriving and, generally speaking, well-to-do, even those found in the tract occupied by the other castes; as witness Khandli, Traj and Limhasri. The Kolis and the Rajputs are, I regret to say, very poor. The Patel of Heranj, a Rajput, personally handed to me a long petition describing the extreme poverty of the village people. I visited the village and then not only inspected the lands, but, at the request of the Patel, also went into some of the houses. The lands I found to be very good, and the cultivation very fair; but the condition of the houses was wretchedly poor. Trying to understand why such opposite circumstances existed side by side, I discovered that the cultivators habitually sold nearly all their stock of manure to the Kunbis of the neighbouring village of Khandli, where in consequence high garden cultivation was everywhere visible. To prove further that the cause of the poverty was solely due to their own indolence and thriftlessness, when I went to the adjoining village of Alindra, which is a thriving Kunbi village, I learnt that the clearance of the large village tank, for which a large sum had been sanctioned last year, was almost at a standstill owing to the scarcity of labourers. Later on I learnt that the village officials had applied to the Collector to have the work taken over by the Executive Engineer. If the Kolis and Rajputs are extremely poor, which no doubt they are, it seems to me they have only themselves to blame, for no Government in the world could make their circumstances any better than they are.”

22. The Collector of Kaira, in his report of March, 1893, makes the following observations with reference to the then condition of the inferior class of the cultivators of this taluka :—

“My mind, therefore, misgave me whether, if largely enhanced rates are imposed on a population of this character, the burden will not prove too much for them, and calculated to throw land out of cultivation and drive them back to their former lawless habits. Probably such results will not ensue, for the mass of Dharalas and other low caste cultivators are as a matter of fact cultivating the land, not, as might be inferred from paragraph 39 of Mr. Fernandez's report, on their own behalf, but on

behalf of the savkars, into whose hands they have fallen, and who, therefore, in the end pay the assessment." Thus the majority of a class of agriculturists who, at the introduction of the survey, were known as skilful and industrious cultivators, having good houses and a great deal of agricultural stock, were about the end of the term found to have lost all their property, skill and industry and sunk to the position of serfs.

23. This deterioration in the condition of the Koli and Rajput cultivators should be the result of the high pressure of assessment on these classes of cultivators, which was the result of the introduction of the survey. Before the survey, Panches were employed, and the revenue was assessed by Bighoti rates; and in fixing the amount of Government demands, they paid more attention to such circumstances as the skill of the cultivators, the amount of agricultural stock which they possessed and the quantity of alienated lands they held with their Government lands, than to the quality of the soil. The consequence was that there was considerable difference in the assessment of the soil of the same class, the unskilled and the less industrious class of cultivators such as Kolis and Rajputs paying low assessment, while that payable by the Kunbis was very high. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S. p. 7). The Revenue Survey discarded the considerations which weighed so forcibly with the Panches and in its attempt to equalise the assessment according to the quality of the soil, the assessment on Koli and Rajput holdings in villages was considerably raised. In connection with such holdings and villages Colonel (Captain) Prescott says: " Even if we do not raise the assessment at all, the payments of many cultivators and villages will be more than doubled merely to equalize it." (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 7).

24. The present condition of the Koli and Rajput cultivators of Matar could not be due to any inherent improvidence, indolence or want of skill on their part. They could not have been an inherently improvident people; because, if they had been improvident, they would not have been able to possess good houses and a great deal of agricultural stock as they used to have at the time of Captain Prescott's report. They could not have been inherently indolent and skill-less, otherwise they could not have the reputation of being as industrious and skilful as Kunbis, which they enjoyed at the time of the introduction of the survey. The new condition which has affected the Koli cultivators generally since the writing of Captain Prescott's report is the large increase of assessment, and to that must be attributed the vast deterioration that has since been brought on in their condition.

25. Another circumstance which must have seriously affected the economic condition of the Matar agriculturists is that there were some 900 fields of the villages of Chitrasar, Chanidra, Kaloli and Naeka, and also some field land in other villages along the Khari that had at one time the advantage of being watered by Dhekudis and were made liable to Dhekudiat rate at the original survey. (Government Selections, cccii., N. S. p. 2, and 83). It was explicitly stipulated that the Dhekudiat rate of assessment should be at once struck off when the facilities of erecting Dhekudis was lost by the action of the river. The river having been dammed up by the Irrigation Department for meeting the demand of water for villages that come under the Irrigation system, water of the Khari has ceased to flow along these fields from before 1874, and they from that time lost all the advantage of the Khari water. In 1874, in one of these four villages, the Dhekudiat assessment was taken off under the orders of Government, but in the other the Dhekudiat rates continued to be levied till the introduction of the revision survey, notwithstanding that the villagers had been deprived of all facilities for obtaining the water.

26. Another circumstance that might also have pressed heavily on the poor cultivators is that in the 12 villages which are comprised within the Khari irrigation system, notwithstanding that they might fail to receive the supply of water for which they had to pay special rates, full rates have been recovered from them, as if the supply of water had continued unstinted.

27. Another circumstance that must have tended towards the impoverishment of the agriculturists of the taluka is that in it there is a large proportion of rice lands. In Gujarat the rice lands were made liable to water-rates which were pitched tolerably high. The object of those officers who made water-rates applicable to rice lands was that these rates should be charged when there was sufficient rain for rice crops, but only the soil rates were to be charged when the rains proved insufficient for that purpose. During the term of the original survey and since there were many years in which there was not sufficient rain for rice crops, and yet the full water-rates continued to be charged together with the soil rates.

28. Notwithstanding such deterioration in the condition of the people, Mr. T. R. Fernandez, Deputy Superintendent, Revenue Survey, Gujarat, who submitted the Revision Settlement Report of the taluka, made in February, 1893, represented that the progress made during the term of the survey lease was satisfactory, and he adduced the

following reasons for his conclusion. (Government Selections, ccci., N. S., p. 10):—

(a) In the matter of population Mr. Fernandez compared the figures of 1891 with those of 1881. As the taluka was re-formed, the statistics of the original survey were of no use; on comparing the population figures of 1881 and 1891 he found that there was an increase of one per cent. Mr. Fernandez admits this increase to be slight (p. 8), but he accounts for the small rate of increase by saying that it was owing chiefly, if not wholly, to emigration. Emigration from a taluka in which there was abundance of waste land available for cultivation ought rather to indicate that the taluka was retrograding than progressing.

(b) With reference to agricultural stock, the only figures he had for comparison were those of 1886-87; and a comparison of the figures of this year with 1891 shewed a decrease in agricultural cattle and ploughs. Mr. Fernandez gets over this unhappy fact by saying that the figures of one or both the years must be incorrect. He, however, relies on the increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the non-agricultural cattle and of $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in horses and ponies, and of 29 per cent. in sheep and goats. It is not right to accept the figures of the statistics when they show progress and to reject them when they show the contrary; considering the general deterioration of the condition of the people at the time of Mr. Fernandez's report, any increase in the number of the larger cattle, such as cows and buffaloes, was most unlikely.

(c) Mr. Fernandez puts much stress on the increase in the number of wells, which was 30 per cent. in the course of 5 years. This increase looks really too great to be accepted. It seems to me that the figures in the returns had no reference to existing facts, or that the later return included *kachcha* wells which should not have been included in the former. Colonel Prescott's report shows an increase of only 12 per cent. in the course of 40 years. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 6). There is one circumstance in connection with the well statistics which does not appear to have attracted Mr. Fernandez's notice. While at the time of Colonel Prescott's report the number of wells out of repair was only 86 (Government Selections, ccc., p. 6), the number of wells out of repair at the time of Mr. Fernandez's report was 202. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 15). At the time of the first report the number of wells out of repair was only 8 per cent.; at the time of the second report it rose to 14 per cent. This is certainly not an indication of progress in the taluka.

29. Another circumstance on which Mr. Fernandez relies is that

out of 46,765 fields, 37,826 or 81 per cent. were entirely cultivated by the Khatedars; but it will appear from para. 22 above, that most of the lands are mortgaged and the cultivators are very heavily indebted; therefore the mere circumstance of a large percentage of the Khatas still standing in the name of the cultivators appears to be no evidence of their condition being satisfactory.

30. Then Mr. Fernandez proceeds to consider the statements showing the difference between the assessment and the sale and mortgage values, and annual rents in the taluka. I have in other places shewn that these statements can never furnish any reliable data for determining the moderateness or otherwise of the assessment; but in a taluka where thousands of acres of arable land are lying waste and are not taken up even on the condition of merely paying the Government assessment, no reasonable inference can follow from the existence of a vast difference between sale and mortgage amounts and rents and the annual assessment. The astonishing difference between the highest and lowest proportions, varying from 4 to 200 times the assessment in the case of jirayat lands and from 2 to 117 times the assessment in the case of rice lands, shews that it is impossible to generalise about the propriety of assessment from these figures.

GOKALDAS K. PAREKH.

THE AWAKENING OF WOMEN: A REVIEW.

"I take it, that the true aim of the woman's movement of the present day is the ultimate ascendancy of justice, truth and holiness: the foundations of character, rather than the triumphs of intellect. It is, therefore, a movement in which the ethical and spiritual faculties of men will be brought into play rather than the intellectual. It is the evolution of the heart, not of the head" (p. 77).

This is, it seems to us, in Mrs. Frances Swiney's own words, the burden of her book, "The Awakening of Women, or Woman's Part in Evolution," and this is exactly what distinguishes her work from that of her predecessors in the same field. While Mrs. Swiney tells us with intense sympathy, clearness and accuracy the sad story of woman's sufferings in the past, owing to inequitable laws, arbitrary conventions and evil social customs, and claims the full enfranchisement of woman, in order to enable her to discharge nobly the holy functions entrusted to her care by her Creator, she is free, with a few exceptions, unlike other advocates of women, from the usual charge of demanding equality of rights, political and social, which, in the long run, are calculated to unsex woman. If there is any one fact which is more prominent than another in the book, it is the constant emphasizing of the differentiation of the sexes and of the functions proper to each of them. Mrs. Swiney does not desire perfect freedom in order to enable either sex to perform the work of the other, but she demands that equality of conditions, which is essential to the fullest possible development of intellectual and moral faculties inherent in woman, compatible with her physical and psychological organisation.

Mrs. Swiney's book marks, in a sense, an era in the history of the woman movement inasmuch as it is the most rational, the most philosophical and the most earnest plea presented to the public, especially by a woman on behalf of her own sex, during the last quarter of a century. Her words ring in our ears like the shrill notes of a clarion calling us to our duty, and as we read her pages burning with enthusiasm, full of eloquence and earnestness, we feel ourselves face to face with a fiery brand which there is no escaping. Elaborate scientific research, wealth of argument and illustration, clear incisive logic, uninterrupted flow of language which becomes easier and easier as the work advances, are characteristics which no reader of the book, however casual, is likely to miss. If one single word can ever describe an author's style,

we should be inclined to call that of Mrs. Swiney rhetorical, but her rhetoric seldom or never degenerates into idle declamation, while it sometimes rises to the dignity of poetic prose. Now and again one notices a certain bitter irony or sarcasm directed towards the opposite sex, when the writer is carried away by a sense of just indignation at the wrongs of women, for which, in her opinion, men are almost exclusively responsible. But for all that, there runs through the book a vein of rational optimism, so characteristic of her sex, which is quite infectious, and makes us almost as hopeful as the writer herself that the sorrow-laden tale of suffering womanhood is drawing to its close, and that in the near future, there is in store for woman a newer and a brighter life with a fresh beginning.

Mrs. Swiney conducts her examination of the subject, to all appearances, from a four-fold standpoint—scientific and psychological, historical and ethical; and we cannot do better than follow her own method in handling her work.

1. The scientific portion of her work practically forms the premisses of her argument, and if these are granted, the conclusions follow with a remarkable degree of logical precision. But there is one great difficulty, in connection with this section of the book, which makes an enquiry in detail, even if it lay within our province, almost impossible. The book being primarily intended for the multitude, Mrs. Swiney has, in her own words, "avoided as much as possible technical and scientific phraseology and long columns of statistics." Perhaps this has made the book more readable; but it has reduced its value by rendering it less convincing. On a good many important and controversial points we have to take either Mrs. Swiney's own word, or to verify her statements from her somewhat scanty list of strictly scientific and medical authorities. In either case, one feels a certain want of satisfaction, especially as it might have been remedied by giving more copious notes in the appendix for the benefit of those who belong to that large and anomalous body, the "Student class," without being particularly removed from the crowd. We will mention one other peculiarity which, in our opinion, borders on a defect from a strictly scientific point of view. There is a very curious mixture of arguments drawn, on the one hand, from poetry and religion, and on the other, from the dry facts of modern scientific research. Undoubtedly the greatest triumph that awaits modern science, in the future, is its possible harmony with poetry and religion. But until that long-wished-for goal is finally reached, perhaps it would be best, in the interest of all three, if, in order to establish a similar set of facts, Huxley and Spencer, Drummond and Litourneau, were not cited in the same breath with Jesus Christ and Buddha, Tennyson and Browning.

With these preliminaries we will proceed to consider Mrs. Swiney's main position. Its drift can be gathered from the following passages:—

"By indisputable evidence, the female organism is the one on which nature has bestowed most care, prevision and attention; and has been, so to speak, her first and her last love: her crudest piece of handiwork and the culminating point of her evolving power" (p. 20). And again:—

"Nature emphatically contradicts the fallacy that woman is the

inferior being. Throughout the whole scheme of living organisms we find the female organs have had bestowed upon them the largest amount of mechanism, of contrivance, of adaptability, of efficiency. They are moreover the most carefully protected, take the longest in the embryo form to develop, and in maturity are endowed with a superabundance of vitality" (p. 21).

In order to establish this position, viz., that the position of woman in evolution is higher than that of man, because her organism is more complex and the number of functions that she can perform much greater, Mrs. Swiney educes a body of evidence, which, as may be expected from the nature of the question, it is neither possible entirely to believe or refute. Upon the authority of Professor Lüdwig Büchner and others, Mrs. Swiney is almost certain that when the relative and not the positive weight of the female brain is considered, it is found that it is not less but even slightly greater than that of man. Thus, if we go upon the supposition, that human intelligence is in proportion to the size of the brain, a fact which at best still remains unproved, we must admit that there are greater possibilities in the female intellect than in that of the male. Once this admission is made—and in the face of the evidence one can scarcely help making it—Mrs. Swiney's object seems to be gained, and her position appears almost impregnable; but it is not her way to be so easily satisfied. If she hits a nail at all she does it with the heavy but skilful hand of a trained workman, until it is driven right home. It is for this reason that we find her dwelling at length upon points which at first sight seem comparatively unimportant, and general propositions which it is not often easy to deny, e.g., as tending to show a higher organic development, that fewer female monstrosities are born than male, that idiocy is more frequent in males than in females, that the emotional capacity of woman is superior to that of man, &c.

It will be an exaggeration scarcely acceptable to the learned writer herself, if we were to say that her work was a new departure in science, or even that it revealed a single new scientific truth in connection with woman. Mrs. Swiney's aim is to further the cause of woman by means of making use of scientific truths already known about woman, not that of science by discovering new physiological facts concerning woman. And Mrs. Swiney has admirably acquitted herself of the task imposed upon herself. With the help of scientific evidence, she has, we believe, given a death-blow to that stock argument, "physical inferiority of women," to which the politician has, in the end, always resorted, in answering women's repeated demands for equality; and what is of still greater importance, a careful perusal of the book is bound, in the long run, to dissipate this wrong idea which women themselves have been brought up to believe for generations past, and to give them a firmer foothold in asserting their rights.

2. Of all branches of human philosophy, psychology, perhaps, has the brightest future before it, inasmuch as it lends itself more and more easily to scientific treatment. But for that reason it is not likely to lose its character of being one of the vaguest of human sciences. For thousands and thousands of years we have been digging, hammer and tongs, spade and shovel, to prove the depth of the human mind, and we

have found that, until recently, our energies have been singularly little rewarded. It is not quite the satisfactoriness of the results obtained by us, but it is the interest attached to the study that has kept us so long at the work. If, therefore, we said that the results arrived at by Mrs. Swiney in her psychological investigation of the female mind were merely interesting, without adding that on the whole they were very satisfactory, we would scarcely be guilty of wantonly disparaging her work. There is nothing we wish more to believe, among other things, than that woman has more self-restraint, that she shows greater force of will, that she possesses larger capacity for endurance than man : or that woman "displays quite as much decision of character, promptitude of resource, and stability of aim as any man" (p. 76); but we are certainly taken aback when Mrs. Swiney states these almost as truths universally accepted. However much we may differ with Mrs. Swiney on these and similar points, we are entirely at one with her when she claims for women virtues which are regarded as especially characteristic of her sex. Not one of us would grudge them their supreme tenderness, their all-embracing love, their unflinching patience, their ever-ready forgiveness; many of us would acknowledge them with the deepest gratitude, as the greatest blessings of our life.

3. Mrs. Swiney devotes two chapters to a historical survey of woman's work in the past, to an examination of her position in the present, and to a forecast of her place in evolution in the future. They reveal all through a wonderful knowledge of historical and ethnological facts, a deep insight into the causes and effects of modern civilisation, and a firm grasp of the direction the woman movement of the present day is taking all over the world. At times there are even traces of that supreme gift of the inspired historian, the faculty of prevision, and as we emerge from the inevitable struggles of the arid past, and the exhausting conflicts of the materialised present, we are given, more than once, bright glimpses of the spiritual future; and we almost touch the land "where it is always afternoon." However, we cannot help saying that we close these chapters with a little feeling of disappointment. Mr. Swiney is apt to make use of historical facts as an advocate bent upon winning his cause would of legal facts, before a willing jury and a prejudiced judge. On some occasions Mrs. Swiney's enthusiasm becomes too great for her, and she is absolutely unable to steer clear of that frequent danger, broad generalisation from an insufficient number of facts, to which nearly all students of history are liable to expose themselves. For instance, at p. 199, we find:

"To many masculine minds it would possibly produce an unpleasant shock of surprise . . . if it were whispered that all the social and industrial development upon which modern civilisation rests, is owing, to a great extent, to the invention, genius and crude expedients of primitive woman, to the rude uncultured mother of the race."

Now and again, we come across historical facts rather carelessly handled, or stated without sufficient authority.

"Woman sat in the Saxon Witan; in the Parliaments of the Plantagenets women still retained their prerogatives that had belonged to them in the Witan-a-gemote." (p. 255.)

So far as we are aware, there is no document extant, a reasonable interpretation of which will justify this statement ; in fact, to our knowledge, there is not even an indirect reference in any of the old authorities, which points to the conclusion that woman took an active part either in the Witan, or in the Councils of the Plantagenets.

Mrs. Swiney discusses with a critical acumen worthy of any lawyer some of the legal disabilities of women. The salient flaws in the Divorce Law of England, anomalies of the law of property in its bearing upon the rights of widows, the insufficiency of the law relating to seduction, the advisability of raising the age of consent, and the wickedness of passing the contemplated Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, have been put forward with all the logic, clearness and force of which the gifted writer is capable. Her suggestions deserve the attention of every statesman who has the welfare of woman at heart.

All reasonable men will have perfect sympathy with the aspirations of women and their demands for equality of which Mrs. Swiney is such an able exponent. But there is, among others, at least one point to which it is possible to take exception. We do not think it either advisable or desirable that women should have political suffrage, at any rate, not before they are in a position to make proper use of it. A keen pursuit of politics presupposes an unusual capacity for organised action, ability and willingness to sacrifice one's self for the common good, and above all economic and physical conditions which enable the individual to give his time ungrudgingly to the work as occasion might require. In order to show that the first two essentials do not exist in the female character at present, we cannot quote a more reliable authority than Mrs. Swiney herself:

"Another characteristic of women, which must be taken into account in summing up the various qualities for and against their political and social advancement, is their incapacity for organised unity of action. . . . Women have an inborn antagonism towards making their own individual interests in the present subservient to the good of the common sisterhood in the future." (p. 80.) Again :

"They do not weigh with sufficient justice and deliberation the conflicting claims of various interests, the *pros* and *cons* of a contested opinion, the relative distinction between the smaller and the greater good." (p. 72.)

As for the other objection, it is well known that the time of a politician is seldom his own. It is equally evident that as woman is constituted, unless upon the supposition that she always remains single, there would be moments in her life, when all her time could never be at the disposal of others, except at the risk of exposing herself to unnecessary physical suffering and of neglecting that home of which, according to Mrs. Swiney's ideas, she is the legitimate guardian and natural care-taker.

Further, political atmosphere is always charged with noxious and unwholesome elements little calculated to improve or exalt moral character ; and the ideal woman, such as Mrs. Swiney portrays, must, in our opinion, keep herself free from all contact with its contaminating, life-destroying poison.

4. There is nothing on which Mrs. Swiney lays more stress in her examination of the subject than on the "ethical development" of woman, and its paramount importance in the evolution of mankind, more especially in the three chapters assigned to woman, as the wife, the mother and the sister. In Mrs. Swiney's ethics there is no vagueness, no uncertainty, and above all no fruitless wandering in that cloud-land of philosophy, where anything earthy has no place or consequence. Here and there, indeed, one comes across dreams of high idealism which lift her just off the earth, but which never carry her away from it; she always manages to have one foot firmly set on the ground. This is just what makes her book so interesting and practical. With a remarkable degree of clearness Mrs. Swiney begins by explaining from a scriptural and scientific standpoint, the high destiny of woman in the scheme of Providence, her pre-ordained mission of furthering human evolution, and the great responsibilities attached to the position assigned to her by her Creator. "The woman," she says, "had the reins of the heart placed in her hand: she was to keep undefiled, pure and holy, the palace of the soul" (p. 95); "to her was committed the preservation of life, the conservation of type, the purity of race" (p. 94). Then, Mrs. Swiney goes on to discuss how, from the first, woman had been found wanting, through ignorance, folly and self-deception, in the great trial of her capacities. There is nothing so pathetic, nothing so sad, in the whole book, as the sense of self-abasement, horror and overpowering remorse, on behalf of the whole sex, with which Mrs. Swiney dissects the shortcomings of woman in this direction ever since her creation; and certainly nothing so bitter, nothing so merited as the reproaches she flings at her sisters, in her own righteous repentance for their sins, of which she sees only an expiation in their later sufferings. But penitence is never akin to despair, and Mrs. Swiney soon recovers her usual buoyancy of spirit, her hopefulness for her sex, and her firm belief in the ultimate success of her cause. The evil has been wrought but remedies are not wanting for its cure. Mrs. Swiney calls upon every woman to declare eternal war against time-worn customs and false conventionalities, and in the light of modern science and medicine to remove the ugly sores which eat up society to its core. She asks the mothers of the race to think it their paramount duty to make the individual units under their care, strong, healthy, capable citizens, from which she hopes the highest good of the state will follow as a corollary. Finally, she wishes all women to remember that widely as women's influence may be diffused, "it must ever radiate from the home-centre, the hearth must ever be the touchstone of woman's magnetic power if it is to be of lasting benefit to mankind, either socially or morally" (p. 163); and before concluding we will exhort every man who believes it is really woman who lost him his Eden, to help her to win it back for him, for there is no other way of regaining it. There is nothing better for his own salvation than the fullest possible development of woman, brain and heart, body and soul. Every time that he imagines such a perfected being, he praises God; with every step that he makes towards realising such an one, he approaches near Heaven.

PAUL INÉ.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Universalism of the Hindu. The eloquent representative of Hinduism who took the Parliament of Religions at Chicago by storm is no more. His open, prepossessing countenance, his majestic bearing and his orange-coloured robe might have contributed in some measure to heighten the effect of his eloquence, but what struck his hearers most was the universality of his creed, the absence from it of that theological exclusiveness which is generally associated with religions which seek to assert their superiority over others. The Hindu regards all religions with equal reverence, proclaimed the apostle of the Vedanta, and what higher goal could a Parliament of Religions attain? It seemed as if that divine event towards which the highest thought of the West is tending, had been forestalled on the banks of the Ganges long before the springs of philosophy had been discovered on the banks of the Jordan or of the Arno. But ere long the magic lost its charm. How can all religions, with their fundamental differences and mutual incompatibilities, be equally true? If they cannot, why should they be equally revered? The mild Hindu is a dreamer, an intellectual coward who shrinks from the idea of a conflict with the more masterful religions of the world. So argued the matter-of-fact worshipper of what he calls the "realities" of the spiritual world. Here we have one of those examples where the East is grievously misunderstood by the West. Can the Hindu really believe that white and black are the same colour, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two and at the same time three, right angles? Yet such is the kind of unthinkable inconsistency of which it is supposed the Hindu intellect is capable. It may be granted—and the Hindu claims it with pride—

that he is fond of detecting unity of principle in the midst of diversity of manifestations. The keynote of Indian philosophy was struck centuries ago by the poet who sang that all that exists is one though sages call it variously. That is how he unified all existences, divine and human, animate and inanimate. A similar love of unification led him to discover that there is a common purpose running through all forms of religion, notwithstanding their external dissimilarities. Does not the Western philosopher, when he is reminded of the destructive effects produced by the conflict between science and religion, reply that religions may disappear, but religion will remain as long as the human mind is constituted as it has been since the origin of the species *homo* ? So does the reflective Hindu, withdrawing himself from the world of conflicting creeds, and militant churches, discern that while religions may be many, religion is one. He does not seek to reconcile irreconcilable theorems : he appreciates the common aim which inspires all faiths. He does not teach that all guesses at truth are equally verifiable by objective tests, but that all attempts to read the mysteries that surround us originate in a common aspect of human nature, that they are moved by a common aspiration, and that they tend towards a common goal, though they may meet with different degrees of success, and follow different paths, all pointing in one and the same direction. No doubt English-speaking Hindus themselves may sometimes be heard preaching at the present day that "all religions are equally true," and that they would deprecate any change of professed faith on the part of any one in whichever religion he may be born. The late Professor Max Müller complained that Sanskrit words are round, while their English equivalents are square. It may similarly be said that Hindu thought is of one shape, while the English garb in which it is dressed is of another. It is, moreover, very common now-a-days for Hindus to study their features in looking-glasses of European make, to accept Western interpretations of the teachings of their own ancestors, or of the mental attitude of their own countrymen. But whether they are themselves conscious of it or not, it is but fair to assume that when they appear to be intellectual enigmas by asserting the "truth" of all religions alike, they do not really understand by that word an objective fact, as a mathematician may speak of the truth of a geometrical proposition, or a man of science may believe in the

truth of a physical law. What the Indian universalist declares is that every religion seeks to penetrate the mysteries of God and man as truly as every other : that the Being whom the sages of the various religions have beheld in their visions is one in reality, though variously styled. The physicist believes that the thunder is produced by the rapid expansion and contraction of the atmospheric air ; an ignorant observer of the skies surmises that it is caused by a collision of the clouds ; the early myth-maker explained that it was the rumbling of the wheels of the car of the rain-god ; there are hill-tribes in India, who tell us that the clouds are the wild boars of the sky, and that as a certain celestial hunter chases them, rainbow in hand, and shooting arrows of lightning at them, they grunt and the sound is heard by the mortals beneath. The explanations here are different, but the experience is the same, and is as "true" in the case of the Western *savant* as in that of the Eastern hill-man. In like manner, says the Hindu philosopher, our explanations of the supernatural may be different, but our experience of it is as true when we are taught to believe one system of religion as when we believe another. The corollary that is sometimes drawn—that no one need profess to believe what his ancestors did not, or his caste-fellows do not, believe—may not follow from the main proposition, but, understood in the manner we have tried to explain, the Hindu ceases to be an enigma : he would no longer appear to perform intellectual feats which to the Western logician are unintelligible.

"Les femmes dans l'Œuvre de Dante," by Mlle.

A Notable French Work. Lucie Félix-Faure, has just been published. This book must be consulted by every reader who wishes to be well acquainted with Dante. It cannot be read without singular emotion. The subject is peculiarly fascinating. The writer gives us a varied picture gallery which presents to the eye different women who have lived in Dante's life or influenced his talent. Not two of these captivating faces are alike. Mlle. Félix-Faure has classed them under several groups, and disengaged the *Idee* which Dante tried to personify in each of these evocations. It is thus that among "Les vivantes" we recognise in the *Primavera* the town of Florence in its festal attire ; in the *Pietosa*, the sweet grace and kindliness of happy youth ; in *Gentucca*, the benevolence of mature compassion. Among "Les Mortes" *Francesca*

da Rimini captivates us by the sufferings that guilty love inflicts on hearts which have been created to be pure. *Beatrice* is the queen of the "Immortelles." In one short phrase, quoted from Dante, Mlle. Félix-Faure condenses the psychology of the link which united the poet to Beatrice : "*Béatrice regardait en haut—et moi je regardais en elle.*" *

Mlle. Félix-Faure has great talent. She excels in descriptions which derive their principal interest from the feeling that always mingles with them. She is a fine poetess. She has admirably understood the poetry not only of Dante's works, but also of Dante's nature. "Newman" was a great success ; "Dante" is a triumph.

An Indian romance, lately published by Mr. **An Indian Romance.** Grant Richards, takes a pessimistic view of the position and prospects of that part of the Empire from which His Majesty derives his highest title.

The work is anonymous ; but one may attribute the authorship to an American—probably an American lady. It has none of the John-Bull self-esteem which, even in the case of writers professing to criticise, is always found in books on India by British pens. And such attempts as are visible wholly fail to represent the effect of "the tender passion" upon the masculine mind. The hero in this book is a Hindu gentleman who visits London, and falls in love with a young lady residing in what is vaguely called "South Kensington," a wide district embracing such varied scenes of middle-class life as Pimlico, Brompton, and Fulham. But, wherever the little drama be located, it is not without interest ; being a representation—probably intentional—of the permanent incompatibility of East and West. The young man indulges in raptures which to an experienced reader may seem anything but characteristic of a Hindu ; but the political observations are not without boldness. Some speculations, beginning at p. 221, afford food for much reflection : their upshot being that unless the Sovereign of the Empire should show some practical signs of interest in India, the Russians, by means of spies disguised as Afghan horse-dealers, will acquire such a knowledge of native grievances as will tempt the Muscovite authorities to invade the country. The fidelity of the Sepoy is not to be trusted : the native army would join the invader ; and the Empire be lost.

* "*Beatrice looked towards heaven—and I looked towards her.*"

We ought, evidently, to keep a bright look-out upon the Cabul traders who come to us affecting to sell yabus and boxes of grapes !

The French Academy has recently conferred the **A French Heroine.** *prix Audiffred* on Mme. Meyrier, wife of the French Vice-Consul at Adrianople. The value of this prize is 15,000 francs, and its purpose is to reward cases of self-sacrifice. The example of heroism given by Mme. Meyrier is one of the best that could be conceived. This courageous woman was with her husband and children at Diarbékir, at the time of the Armenian massacres, in 1895-96, and in order to help and protect the persecuted Christians, she encountered peril and misery of all sorts. A caravan of 300 persons was once organised, and was to leave for Alexandrette, under the protection of the French Vice-Consul. But the violence of the persecutors became so strong that M. Meyrier was obliged to remain behind at Diarbékir, to prevent further slaughter. Mme. Meyrier did not hesitate at this moment. She herself took charge of the caravan, and led the way midst innumerable difficulties. On the caravan arriving at the Euphrates, the Turks refused to allow the Christians to cross it. Mme. Meyrier then sent ahead her four very young children, among whom was a babe still at the breast, and she declared to the Tarks that she would be the last to pass, and that if the march of the column was delayed long enough to make the babe suffer from the deprivation of its mother and nurse, France would be its avenger. Needless to add that the caravan landed safely, and the three hundred Christians owed their safety to the admirable courage and presence of mind of the woman who so heroically exposed for their cause more than her life—that of her children.

CURRENT EVENTS.

KING EDWARD VII. is crowned. He was King before that auspicious event, but a coronation fulfils two functions: it connects the present with the past—for the coronation ceremony is full of reminiscences of a by-gone age in the history of the English monarchy—and it provides an impressive demonstration of the unity of the British Empire. If we had the inner eye of the Eastern sages of old, we should perhaps have attempted to describe how, when King Edward and Queen Alexandra were crowned on the 9th of this month, the gods, who had come down in their air-ships, clapped their hands in benignant approbation and showered down flowers on the Sovereign of the greatest Empire the world has ever known. With our twentieth century vision we are certain only of this, that while but a few thousands attended the scene in body, millions from the Far East were present there in spirit, joining inaudibly in the chorus of *God save the King*.



On the day preceding King Edward's coronation, His Majesty's representative in India, Lord Curzon, installed the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur of Mysore in his *gadi*. The burden of a kingdom must be heavy enough to the ruler of a Native State like Mysore, and in spite of the encouraging and affectionate terms in which the Viceroy addressed the Maharaja, His young Highness must have been overcome by the supreme importance of the moment. "Are you not afraid of the Viceroy?" asked Lady Curzon of the boy Maharaja, when they visited Mysore two years ago. "No," replied His Highness, with the intrepidity of youthful innocence. He is well educated and a part of his training under Mr. Fraser consisted in introducing him to the high and important duties that he would be called upon to discharge. According to all accounts he gives promise of becoming a successful ruler.

The last, but by no means the least important, of Lord Curzon's Commissions is appointed. It is a common complaint in India that the police inspire, even among innocent and law-abiding people, a sense of fear more than one of security. It is expected that the Police Commission, which is composed of officials of great experience and non-officials who ought to know where the shoe pinches the people at large, will make useful suggestions to improve the efficiency of the police, but the organs of Indian public opinion have, as a rule, expressed themselves doubtfully about the probability of any Commission inventing a method of counteracting that tendency to abuse power, which is particularly dreaded in the police. Sir W. Lee-Warner tells the citizen of India that oppression on the part of the police is possible only because the victims of it make no attempt to resist it. This sounds very much like a self-evident proposition, but how and when are the people of this country to learn that the remedy for the evil complained of lies in their own hands? One has apparently to trust to that panacea—education—which must teach the police the meanness of an illegal exercise of power, and the people what they owe to themselves. The Commission will begin work in October.



Meanwhile, public attention in India will be claimed by the Report of the Universities Commission. The reforms recommended by the Commission are important, and may be felt in some parts of India as even radical. Within the geographical areas assigned to each of them—for it is proposed to transfer the Central Provinces and Central India to Allahabad, and Ceylon to Madras—the Universities are to control the work of the affiliated colleges and, if possible, to undertake teaching for advanced courses. Every college must teach up to the B. A. standard, must have a governing body, must levy a minimum fee prescribed by the University, and the students should reside either with their parents or guardians, or in quarters approved by the University. The Commission makes detailed recommendations as to the constitution of the Senate and Syndicate, the subjects and methods of teaching, the conduct of examinations and the value to be attached to them. Some idea of the thoroughness with which the Commission has done its work may be gathered from recommendations like: "Books criticising literary works which

students have not read should be excluded. Anglo-Saxon should be excluded." The principles kept in view, in all these recommendations, may be said to be that young men should be educated under proper discipline and amidst healthy influences, that higher education should not be made too cheap, that students should be encouraged, as far as possible, to acquire knowledge by their own efforts, instead of imbibing, without examination, what others have written for them, and, generally, that it is better for India that a comparatively small number should receive a sound and liberal education than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction leading to a depreciated degree. The attainment of a high ideal of University education depends not so much upon the rules laid down by Commissions or by Government, but ultimately upon the kind of men engaged in teaching and in examining. Enthusiasts and pessimists have often stated that as long as the management of a University rests mainly in the hands of those who are responsible for the working of the colleges affiliated to it, the University is bound to descend to the level of the colleges, instead of elevating them to its own ideals. Lord Curzon had the masterfulness to recognise that even Universities may be the better for a little goading, and that the stimulus might come partly from Government and partly from one another, if they are made to conform to a more or less uniform standard of efficiency and to work on similar principles. The authoritative regulations which will be laid down after the public has had an opportunity of discussing the recommendations of the Commission, and perhaps the control which the Government of India will hereafter exercise over the various Universities through its Director-General of Education, will in due course accomplish the object which Lord Curzon has had in view.



Misunderstandings, like misfortunes, never come singly. The Bombay Government stands unique among the Local Governments of India in alienating popular sympathy even in carrying out measures which are in themselves popular and generous. The Government of India has sanctioned the remission of a crore and thirty lakhs of rupees of suspended arrears of land revenue in the Bombay Presidency. Broadly speaking, the amount seems to be made up of the formally suspended arrears for two years, and the estimated

suspension for the last official year, calculated on a village-war basis. The Bombay Government argues that the object of the remission is to help those that cannot pay and not those that can ; it has, therefore, ordered individual inquiries to be made before fixing the amount to be remitted in each case. This may be just, but it detracts from the generosity which Lord Curzon's announcement at the last Budget debate led the public to expect at the hands of Government. One may be sure that the Bombay Government does not intend that the poor *bonâ fide* agriculturists should be harassed, but only that persons who are quite able to pay should not take undue advantage of the windfall, at the expense, it may be, of the poorer ryots. In the result, the Government may remit the whole amount sanctioned. Yet, unfortunately, those that conduct the inquiries cannot be expected to possess the discrimination and judgment of those that order them.



The East sometimes stands aghast at the practicalness of the West. The extent of the utility of inoculation as a preventive of plague is a question on which expert opinion is by no means all on one side. Yet, if the best opinion available should incline towards the adoption of that remedy, British administrators would lose no time in organising campaigns of inoculation. The Punjab Government is about to launch on a stupendous scheme of voluntary inoculation. It is proposed to inoculate about six and a half million persons, at the rate of 700 a day. Rightly or wrongly, there is an impression among the native population that in certain constitutions the introduction of the anti-plague poison accelerates the course of other diseases. Let us hope that there will be no panic among the people and that the cost of the experiment will be justified by its results.



Lord Curzon continuing in India, the change of ministry in England does not affect this country more than it affects the Empire as a whole. The withdrawal of so firm and skilful a hand as that of Lord Salisbury from foreign politics will be regarded with some degree of anxiety, until the fish remaining in the sea proves to be as good as that taken out of it. Lord Salisbury was a specialist in the particular line of administration with which he was long

connected, and Englishmen are worshippers of specialism. He did not put on the prophet's mantle, but, like a Hindu law-giver, he took things as they are, and called black by the name of black. That did not necessarily mean that he liked the black less than others did, with less realistic forms of speech. If Mr. Gladstone's party accepted Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Lord Salisbury's accepted Sir M. Bhowmager. "It is very desirable that the treatment of India should be generous and liberal," said he two years ago, "because as one reason, the mass of the people of that country are much more struggling and suffering than the mass of the people here." Mysore remembers with gratitude how, notwithstanding the advice of certain experienced Anglo-Indian administrators to the contrary, he insisted upon the rendition of that State to the Native dynasty in 1881. A righteous and peace-loving statesman, he was constitutionally averse to sentimentalism in any form.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—I trust you will find space in your pages for a few remarks on Artaxerxes' elaborate and deeply interesting hypothesis concerning the evolution of the mystic syllable *Om* or *Aum*.

Voltaire's sneer at infant philology, which ascribed to it the comprehensive law, "that consonants were mutually interchangeable, and that vowels were of no account," is no longer applicable to a study that has long since been a recognised science. By this I would not be understood to imply that Artaxerxes' theory is unphilological and to that extent unscientific. I have neither the authorities at hand nor the time to undertake the defence of any such statement. I merely mean that in a question dealing with the evolution of a word, the anthropological hypothesis should have been supported by philology.

Artaxerxes' whole theory is based on the remote antiquity of the word, and, secondly, on the fact that the sex-relation was the first to strike primitive man, so that the root of all religious evolution was from that mud (why mud?).

However, the fact that early writings ascribe to it an immemorial antiquity proves very little. Those were the days when kings reigned 10,000 years, when *omne ignotum* was held *pro magnifico*, and when in the absence of records the immediate past soon receded into the mist of an unknown distance, *possibly* to that of the remotest antiquity.

I hold the remote antiquity of "Om," therefore, *non-proven*, and would myself ascribe its origin, as a mystic word, to the dawn of pantheistic speculation. The word itself I take to be the same as the Sanskrit *asmi*, the Greek *ōn*, the Latin *sum* and *ens*, and the English *am*—a chain of vowel weakenings in full agreement with Professor Schleicher's Tables of Comparative Grammar. I regret I have not his work with me, but only a few scrap notes, else I might have supported this chain by a string of illustrations.

That "Being" was the name ascribed to the Deity as best expressing His essence is well-known and borne out by the "I am that I am" of the Old Testament and by every system of pantheistic philosophy.

That the sex-relation played the most important and the first part in the awakening of speculation on cause and effect, I am not concerned to deny. That may or may not have been. But when a philosophic race came in contact with a race of phallic worshippers with promiscuous sex-connections, this word *may* have been employed by them to hallow and so to control the sex-relations which intercourse with barbarian aborigines was in danger of corrupting.

This is a hypothesis I do not maintain, but it is conceivable and explains all that Artaxerxes brings forward. It, however, justifies the conclusion that as the unimaginable antiquity of the use of this word, with a sex-reference, is not proved, and as an alternative hypothesis is here presented, Artaxerxes cannot be said to have established his theory on a sufficiently firm basis.

I make these remarks in no captious spirit. I have read Artaxerxes' article with real pleasure and interest, and I merely venture to present another theory more consonant, it seems to me, with philology. I would leave the question to one less of an amateur than myself to decide.

Yours truly,
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Mussoorie.*

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EDUCATION OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES IN INDIA.

THE nineteenth century has been the century of Science ; it may safely be prophesied that the twentieth will be the century of Education. In other words, while the last hundred years were marked by such immense advances in knowledge as had never been paralleled by any past age, the next century seems likely to be marked by a diffusion of knowledge even more immense and unparalleled. Never has the importance of Education been so universally recognised, its nature and principles so closely and intelligently scrutinised, its methods so eagerly discussed and experimented upon; never has its domain been so wide nor have its exponents and apostles been so enthusiastic, numerous and universally respected and heeded. In one or two countries the work is well advanced, in others it is under way, in none but the most barbarous or the most backward—a dwindling minority—is it entirely neglected ; so that the world will, within measurable time, be face to face with a situation of the most extraordinary novelty. Instead of a few learned classes in a few chosen nations, it will behold the spectacle of an educated mankind.

That this is a desirable consummation, is now generally admitted. The times when universal education could be discountenanced as a social or political danger, a vague and alarming potentiality for evil, are passing away for ever. Time was, when education was an ornament rather than a necessity. But now that it is perceived that education has its indispensable uses as well as its exceeding pleasures, neither the general conscience of mankind nor the particular interests of nations will permit that even the meanest individual, the most insignificant citizen, should be entirely cut off from so inestimable a possession.

The advantages of education have, indeed, been recognised by the best spirits among mankind from the most ancient times. But originally it was the importance of education to the development of the individual that was especially valued. The Hindu doctrine of *Dnyan* (knowledge) as essential to salvation, the various dicta of Greek philosophers that virtue is knowledge, that the *summum bonum* consists in the virtuous conduct of life in accordance with right reason, and that the wise man is the true king, show how acutely this aspect of education was felt. After the Renaissance it was the pleasures and beauties of knowledge that especially appealed to the cultured classes of Europe; the high speculations of philosophy, the delight of poetry and art, the deep human interest of the past, and more recently, the marvels of science, with its entrancingly attractive researches into the wonders of Nature. In modern times a new aspect of education has come into prominence. It is the various uses of education, and especially its national uses. It is valued partly as the most powerful lever of progress, partly as the most telling weapon in the national struggle for life. One most important result of this is that in the immense diffusion of education it has for the first time reached the lower classes as a whole, and seeks to be universal. So long as knowledge was an instrument for the salvation or development of a few souls or an æsthetic occupation for the cultured, there was no reason for extending it beyond a limited circle. The Republic of Letters was an oligarchy, and not a democracy. But now that education is found indispensable to individual, as well as national success in life, it is obvious that it becomes as much a universal right as bread and air, and that, in proportion as a nation limits its diffusion to one or two social classes, it maims its own future.

The excellence of a Government must, to my mind, be judged, not by separate details of its administration, but by the extent to which it gives facilities for the development of all the best human faculties in the people whose destinies it guides, and having developed them, gives the freest and amplest scope for their exercise under the conditions of a well-ordered society. It follows from this that the provision of universal education becomes the first duty of a Government. In the old days, when the people were expected merely to pay taxes, to obey the law, to till the fields, and to form

food for powder in times of war, the necessity of educating them was not felt. But in these days, when more and more value is attached to public opinion, and a fuller and fuller measure of free and responsible activity is conceded to the people, universal education is needed to equip them for their new destinies and responsibilities. It is dangerous to have, in these days of democracy, an ignorant and, therefore, suffering populace, for such a populace is liable to be moved by the first wind of anarchy or demagoguism, nor can it nowadays be argued that education is the look-out of the individual, not of the State. It is becoming an axiom of Political Economy that the provision of education and its supervision is in the main the duty, and the most important duty, of the State, and cannot be either economically or efficiently discharged by scattered and unorganised effort.

Socially, as well as politically, it is to the interest of a community to educate all its members. Not only is life less bright and enjoyable where the mass is uneducated, but the ignorant man makes an inefficient citizen. He is narrow and petty in his outlook, ideas and sympathies. His horizon is bounded by the immediate gratification of his present wants and impulses, his small surroundings, his domestic circle, low enjoyments, sordid cares and needs. His own affairs are too immediate to him to give room for the larger claims of the community and the nation. He is, therefore, wanting in unselfishness, civic duty and a high sense of patriotism.

But in these days of the reign of commerce, the economical argument is perhaps the most obvious and pressing. The want of education puts a man at an economical disadvantage, making him, by limitation of his field, the slave of circumstances, where the skilled brain and the skilled hand chooses its own field and meets circumstances on equal terms. The loss to the nation is, if possible, still greater. For these are times of high-strung international competition, a keen struggle for markets and monopolies, huge trusts and combines, and the unlimited application of science to the practical details of commerce and industry. In such an age every additional ounce of brains may tell for an incalculable amount in the final apportionment of success and failure. That nation, therefore, is likely to outstrip its rivals, which gives the greatest educational advantages to every individual citizen without distinction of class

or respect of person. It is because, in her unbounded faith in this democratic ideal, she has devoted herself to universal and free education, that America, less gifted with initial advantages than England, less scientific and nationally organised than Germany, is challenging these nations in the race for commercial supremacy. Contrast with this the stagnant condition of India, where, of all countries not barbarous, there is the most culpable waste of human material, and we have the most forcible and urgent of all arguments for universal education. It is not that all can climb to the higher pinnacles of knowledge or success ; but the higher the general level of enlightenment and capacity, the greater the collective force of the nation. In modern days it is not only the general commanding but the rank and file who must have self-reliance, knowledge and brains. Nor is it any longer either just or wise that the few in the lower classes, who may have the capacity to rise, should be denied the chance. The leader of armies or the captain of industry often arises out of the ranks.

In India, as in other countries, the awakening to the need of universal education has only come in recent years. In ancient times the children of priests and nobles received, in the hermitages of great Rishis, a gratuitous education in the Vedas, law, philosophy, &c. ; for taxes were then few, and food was abundant, and the office of preceptor highly revered. This was the Golden Age of Vashishtha, Vishwamitra and Valmiki, when there may have been classes, but certainly no caste ; for a man took his rank on the just and rational ground of his personal qualifications. In those days women also received the highest education, as the examples of Gargi and others sufficiently indicate. But let us not waste our time, as some of our countrymen do, priding ourselves on these doubtful and half-mythical glories. We shall do more wisely to take them as a measure of our present degradation. From what height fallen to what a depth thou seest !

Then came an age when the descendants of the sages, abandoning the forest for courts and politics and material gains, demanded a sordid equivalent for the treasure of knowledge imparted, and no longer regarded teaching as a sacred duty. This was the period of court patronage of learning, when the Acharya or Shastri became a dependant and a paid teacher.

Last was the period of foreign domination, when Hindu learning had a precarious existence, and in its latter days so much of the old spirit was lost that some were even found openly to discourage education as unnecessary except to a religious class. Still the letter of the old learning, though not its spirit, lingered on in centres like Benares, Prayag, Nuddea and Nasik, where the Brahmans congregated together. In the village Pathshalas, also, an elementary education in reading, writing and commercial arithmetic was given to Vaishya and Shudra as well as Brahman youths; but the students formed only a small percentage of the population, and the majority even of these were Brahmans. Still, educational institutions were there; and it is worth noting that even in those degenerate times ladies of the higher classes received, in many families, some education in the vernaculars.

But even in its best days Hindu education suffered from serious drawbacks. It was entirely in the hands of Religion, governed and limited by religious notions, and it was confined to the superior castes. Every judgment was founded in the first instance on authority, and not on observation and independent reasoning. The object kept in view was to maintain the old religious knowledge, and to acquire new only so far as it could be made to appear consistent with the old; logic, philosophy, &c. were tinged with religious notions; a comparative study of subjects was unknown. Relatively far as some of the sciences had advanced, they were always hampered by preconceived religious ideas; reasonings which anticipated comparatively recent European discoveries, remained the property of a few scholars, while the populace were left to the delusions fostered by their religious books.

So far back as we can look, therefore, the generality of the people seem to have been little benefited by education. They continued ignorant, illiterate and uncared for, steeped in superstition and helpless before superior physical force. Limited to their personal and narrow horizon, love for their country or their nation was unknown to them, and combined and sustained action, the result of a really national system of education, remained beyond their wildest dreams.

Yet, faulty as was the old education—and its faults were not peculiar to India but common to all countries a few centuries ago—it

must be remembered that it had a value of its own. Thanks to it, India had a long career of civilisation--art, science and letters--and this left behind a deep respect for education among the people, and a quick natural intelligence which only needs sound training to acquire depth and solidity as well. Nothing has more struck and delighted me during all my tours and travels in India than the universal anxiety of the people to secure educational facilities for their children. Partly, perhaps, this arises from an idea of the immediate material advantages of education ; but this is only a part of the truth. Nobody who knows our people can fail to become aware of the sincere respect in which they hold learning for its own sake. They do really set a sort of religious value upon it, and consider it as a precious possession; it is to them a safe, because hidden, investment, of which no age or sovereign can deprive them. I think if the Government had realised this, as it would if it kept its finger on the pulse of popular feeling, it would by this time have covered the land with schools for the people and carried out with heart and energy the principles we find it more than once enunciating in minutes, despatches and public utterances.

The Mahomadan rule added little to the scope or diffusion of knowledge. The Emperor Akbar took an enlightened and impartial interest in all forms of religion and in various literatures and civilisations, but the idea of a regular and efficient state system of education does not seem to have suggested itself to him. Aurangzib is, indeed, credited with having planned and even set on foot such a system, but if introduced at all it could not have long out-lived its originator. Such, indeed, is too often the fate of a reform when the people have not been educated up to it or the rulers fail to atone by their personal energy and jealous supervision for the perfunctory lukewarmness of the officials who have to execute it. The Mahomadan system, such as it was, closely resembled the Hindu ; it comprised elementary schools, largely attended by Hindus as well as Mahomadans, in which Persian was taught, and Madressas or Colleges teaching Arabic. These answered in their general character to the Hindu *tols* : Arabic, ritual, mathematics, logic, &c. were taught in them with as much subtlety and detail and as little practical result. But there was this difference, that the Mahomadans, beginning from the early times when the people elected their

Caliphs, were more democratic in feeling, and from their wide diffusion in Europe and Africa the best of them brought in not only a better physique but more open minds and liberal ideas.

English education in India, introduced by missionary and private effort, was not taken up and organised by the Government till a comparatively late period. The controversies between Oriental and European learning, and again between English and the Vernaculars, left behind them one unfortunate effect in concentrating Government effort, when it did begin in earnest, mainly and, one might almost say, solely on higher education.

Yet it is important to note that, as might be expected from the more liberal atmosphere of Europe, the education of the masses was from a very early time a recognised part of the Government programme. Lord Elphinstone's Minute of 1824, the Despatch of 1854, and the Report of the Education Commission in 1882, are the three great landmarks in the progress of education, and in each of these this point is dwelt on with an increasing stress. In Lord Elphinstone's Minute the necessity of encouragement and educational provision for the lower orders of society was for the first time definitely laid down, and practical means of raising funds for the purpose provided, such as diversions of annuities, cash payments and allowances to Fakirs as well as the savings from the village expenses; quit-rents upon Inams held under doubtful titles; and contributions from grants for religious and charitable uses. Thenceforward the indigenous schools of the country, reformed and reinforced by new vernacular schools, were made the basis of a system of primary education through the vernaculars.

The Despatch of 1854 has been termed the Charter of Education in India, for it is on the provisions laid down in the Despatch that the present system, with its Government and Government-aided schools and colleges, has been built up. In this document there are some memorable passages in connection with the education of the masses. "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, viz., how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided

efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure. Schools, whose objects should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life, should exist in every district of India." And again, at the close of the Despatch, "We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. Your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose and by means of a careful encouragement of the native schools which exist, and have existed, from time immemorial in every village."

The recommendations of the Commission of 1882 were still more explicit. It recognised, in the first place, that "while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, the elementary education of the *masses*, its provision, extension and improvement, are subjects to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still higher measure than before." It went on to suggest special provisions for the education of Mahomedans, the aborigines, women and Indian nobles, and recommended that the principle already theoretically recognised that low-caste children be admitted to all Government Schools, should be firmly, if cautiously, applied.

But the latest authoritative pronouncement on the subject has been the clearest and most encouraging of all. The eloquent observations made by Lord Curzon, while speaking at the last Education Conference at Simla, are full of promise and significance. "Primary education," he said, "by which I understand the teaching of the masses in the vernaculars, opens a wider and more contested field of study. I am one of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian

text-books, the elementary instruction of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined. This, I think, has been a mistake ; and I say so for two principal reasons. In the first place, the vernaculars are the living languages of this great Continent. English is the vehicle of learning and of advancement to the small minority. But for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue, which they do not speak and rarely hear. What is the greatest danger in India ? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crimes, yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses ? It is ignorance ; and what is the only antidote to ignorance ? Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier so they will become more useful members of the body politic." These are words of wisdom, which, when uttered by so high an authority, foreshadow a great advance towards universal elementary education.

The principle of universal education may, therefore, be considered as a recognised plank in the educational policy of India. But there is one practical feature of this question, which is of sufficient interest to demand special attention. There are, in India, certain classes—usually designated the "backward" classes—who, owing to social disadvantages or want of quickness in seizing their opportunities, have been left behind in the advance of education. These classes invite sympathy and special encouragement from the Government, and as the results of the special measures that have been taken on their behalf in Baroda are of some interest and importance, I wish to give a brief account of them here.

Under the designation of backward classes may be included (1) Mahomadians ; (2) Mahrattas, Rajputs and, roughly, the old fighting castes of India ; (3) Kolees and Bhils ; (4) most of the agricultural classes ; (5) forest tribes and aboriginal races ; (6) Antyajjas, or depressed classes, including Dheds, Bhangis and other low-caste people. Indeed, if the word be applied with any wideness, so backward is the country that of detailed enumeration there would be no end.

Among Mahomadians, though the taste for higher education is still little developed and confined to certain districts, primary and elementary instruction is not so restricted as one is sometimes led to imagine : in Baroda the proportion of Mahomadan boys who attend school to their total population of the school-going age has been for

the last few years almost 50 per cent. Besides the ordinary school which they attend along with others, I have started special Urdu schools in my dominions wherever the number of pupils is large enough to warrant a separate establishment. In these schools education is imparted *gratis*, and for some of them Mahomadan teachers and inspectors are employed. Four Urdu Girls' schools have also been opened in different parts of the State, and influential leaders of the community have been prevailed upon to relax the rigidity of the *Purda* for their daughters. For the second backward class also, measures of a less general character have been taken. I may observe in passing that my object in sending a number of boys of the more backward castes to Europe has been largely to extend rapidly enlarged ideas and a value for knowledge among their community.

The Kolees, Bhils and forest tribes include several aboriginal races which belong to the lowest strata of Indian Society; their minds are shrouded in impenetrable ignorance, and not easily pervious to any rays of refinement or knowledge. Under the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 some special schools have been opened for them in British districts. In Baroda territory the aboriginal hill-tribes mostly abound in the Navsari District, where they reside in the forests of the Tapti Valley. Boarding schools have been opened for them at Songadh, Vyara and Mahuwa, in each of which about 100 Dhanka boys are lodged and fed at the expense of the State and receive free education. Practical instruction in agriculture, and on a petty scale in sericulture and preparing silk, is also imparted, and a small experimental farm is attached to the Songadh institution. A carpentry class has also been opened there to give the pupils some facilities for manual training and enable them to make or repair the implements and tools they may have to handle in their after-life. Another boarding school for Dhanka girls has also been started at Songadh, which is attended by about 50 girls, and thus helps to disseminate the beneficent and refining results of education in many a cottage in the Tapti Valley. In all these schools the poorer students receive a free supply of educational requisites in the shape of books, slates, pencils, &c. Further, 38 new village schools have been opened in the forest tracts for the aboriginal tribes.

These village schools, or Gramya-shalas, are small schools with

light standards for small villages where the regular schools and standards would be far above ordinary requirements. They are a branch of the village administration; the Mehtaji, like the Patel and Talati, is a village official, and his duty is to popularise education among the villagers and carry it into the smallest hamlets. At present there are about 536 such schools in the Baroda territory, besides the 38 schools opened for the tribes. Instruction is given here in reading, writing and arithmetic to about 14,000 boys and 1,000 girls. Old indigenous schools, improved according to the latest notions, are on this plan calculated to render good service in spreading primary education among the masses.

Special schools for the *Antyaja* or depressed classes have been opened since 1883. These classes have suffered much owing to the very low social esteem in which they are held by the general public. The taint of degradation attaching to their social status has been so indelibly fixed that even now they are shunned like the plague by the upper layers of society; their mere touch is thought a pollution, their very shadow inauspicious and ill-omened. The admission of these low-caste children to the ordinary schools would have emptied them of their other pupils. Any measure intended to raise their social level had to be applied, therefore, with considerable caution. On the other hand, the numbers of Antyaja boys, who flocked to the first schools opened for them, justified a further extension of the same liberal policy, and at present there are about 22 special schools, where about 1,600 Antyaja children are receiving some sort of elementary instruction at the expense of the State. Students of the depressed classes studying in the fourth and fifth vernacular standards have also been receiving Government scholarships, on which the State expends Rs. 1,400 annually. I have often attempted to impress on my people the hollowness and essential vulgarity of their sentiments of social rank and dignity, the so-called low-castes being only low by the accident of birth, and not by any personal lack of fitness or desirable qualifications. Their need of, and therefore their title to, State help is greater than that of their more fortunate brethren, for whom private as well as public munificence is ready to open its purse.

In order to promote education among these classes, inducements, like free elementary instruction and scholarships for further study,

are of essential importance. When we have done something to awake an interest in study in their minds, we have still to prevent that interest from evaporating, by stipends and bounties. Education is free in the Baroda State, not only for the low castes and forest tribes in the special schools opened for them, but for the Mahomadan boys in the Urdu Schools. The State has also provided scholarships for Mahomadan boys desirous of higher education in Colleges ; for low-caste boys and girls anxious to undergo two or three years' training in the several Normal Colleges of this Presidency, and for low-caste boys studying in the fourth or fifth vernacular standards. Other inducements and facilities are also provided for the latter in the shape of different sorts of special training and technical instruction, such as the experimental farms, sericulture and carpentry classes already described. They are thus in a way supplied with some equipment for the career on which they are likely to enter after leaving school. Some of the boys thus turned out, who have little holdings of their own, are supplied with a pair of bullocks to start tilling ; others are provided with employment in the boarding schools, where they impart to others of their class the instruction they have themselves received. The State thus provides them with some means of earning a decent livelihood when they grow up, and prevents them from feeling that bitter and helpless discontent which would be their lot if they were allowed to relapse with their enlarged minds and altered notion of wants and comforts into their original state of barbarism. Interest in education is thus sustained, and the rising youth of the backward tribes are saved from settling down into mere automata, working like Sisyphus, without zeal and without object.

I may perhaps be allowed to quote, as to the success of educational experiments in Baroda, the remarks of Mr. J. S. Cotton, the compiler of the quinquennial review of the progress of education in India, who kindly undertook, at the commencement of this year, to examine the system of education prevailing in Baroda. "The special attention," he writes, "given to the instruction of low-castes and the introduction of compulsory school-attendance in Amreli are examples of successful experiment. It is also noteworthy that female education is more advanced than in any other part of India." And further : "Comparing, first, the proportion of

schools to towns and villages, I find that for Baroda the percentage is 43·41 ; while for the Bombay Presidency it is 31·80, and for all India 26·47. The proportion of girls' schools alone is 3·19 per cent. compared with 2·66 per cent. for Bombay and with 1·39 per cent. for all India. Taking, next, the proportion of children at school to the estimated population of school-going age (15 per cent. of the total population), I find that for Baroda the percentage is 25 compared with 12·5 for all India, 16·6 for the Bombay Presidency, 18·34 for the Northern Division of Bombay and 20·44 for Kathiawar. Of girls alone the percentages are 8·6 for Baroda, 2·10 for all India, 3·63 for Bombay, 4·57 for the Northern Division and 3·83 for Kathiawar."

It will be seen from the above facts that the State in Baroda has not neglected its duty towards the ignorant classes, those who have lingered and those who are unjustly weighed down in the race. I trust that it will not be long before the educated members of the community, whether officials charged with the execution of educational policy or the general public, awake to a sense of their duty in this matter and come to the assistance of the Government. They should no longer cherish the absurd prejudice that the lower classes, who are only the victims of harsh circumstances and antiquated social laws, were made inferior or impure by God, nor treat them with contempt, and when forced by their official duty into contact with them, do it coldly and grudgingly instead of endeavouring with zeal and earnestness to help and improve them. Nor should they think, as some foolishly do, that these were specially created to be our servants and that by educating them this heaven-sent provision will disappear. The kindred idea held by some members of the higher castes, that the lower castes should be kept in ignorance, or the veneration in which the Brahmans are held by the lower castes will be lost, is as groundless as it is unworthy. Even if educated, all will not rise beyond a certain level of intelligence ; and if they do, it will surely be a matter for national rejoicing rather than for regret. On the education of these classes depends the welfare of the community of which they are a part ; for it cannot advance with one part of itself and remain behind with another : there must be proportionate progress all round. We ask, not unnaturally, for political rights, but, in my opinion, our own social improvement is of even greater importance. The claim for political equality does not

come with grace from those who cling to such extreme social inequalities among themselves and argue that the lower classes should snatch equal treatment from them rather than they should extend it from a sense of justice and right reason. It is amusing to see some of our people, either from discontent or a habit of talk formed by their education, pose as radicals and republicans ; perhaps, if they were to apply their principles first in social matters like these, their political outpourings might 'not wear the appearance of self-interest or a mere literary exercise. We talk much also of social reform and improvement, but we ought to realise that, once the lower classes are educated, all that so many efforts of individuals and societies and social reform congresses could not accomplish will be swiftly done by the working of natural forces. Otherwise, we may waste long periods of effort, and the result will be little or nothing. Therefore, I hope that our society will take as great a share as it can of the burden of this work, though I fully recognise that in a country, poor like ours, and in no degree self-governing, we must look ultimately and for the larger part of the work to the Government. If there were several *Tatas* in India to establish Colleges and Institutes for Research, or if there were *Carnegies* and *Rockfellers* to vie in educational munificence, the burden might be largely lifted off the State ; but there is no reason why private men should not even here follow, according to their means, such high examples of liberality and public spirit.

I have given a brief and by no means complete sketch of the work now being done in the Baroda State for the advancement of the most ignorant classes of our society. I do not claim that it is more than a beginning, but it is a beginning which has amply fulfilled expectation by its success, and provides a secure basis for the future. It is well to recognise, however, that this is only a part of a much greater work imperatively demanded if this country is to renew its vitality, mental and material—the work of universal education ; and universal education implies compulsory education. Compulsory education has been adopted as a necessity of modern life by most of the advanced countries of Europe. In England and Scotland, France and Norway, it is an established and working institution ; in Italy and Japan it has commenced its beneficent progress ; and even Spain and Portugal have at least placed it upon their statutes.

It is no less a necessity, and there seems to be no reason why it should be less practicable, in India. It will necessitate a larger proportionate expenditure on Education from the State revenues, it will demand tact, patience and forbearance in the exemption, and it will have to be applied with caution and by degrees; but, if practicable anywhere, it should certainly be practicable in a population like ours, docile, law-abiding and imbued with an ancient respect for knowledge.

The experiment has been tried in one of the divisions of my State, and, as usually happens, the difficulties prophesied have disappeared under the touch of practical experience. Applied at first to eleven selected villages of the most remote and backward part of the territory, the policy has been gradually extended throughout the Amreli Division. Fines for habitual non-attendance have been left to the Revenue authorities, so that there should be as little appearance as possible of penal action, and as much room as possible for the exercise of a tactful discretion. But, except in one or two cases, the collection of fines has proved unnecessary. Tact and persuasion on the part of the officials and the docility and practical good sense of the people have worked in harmony for the success of the measure.

I cherish a hope that the time will still come when it will be practicable to extend the measure to the whole of the State, and even those who are opposed to it will be convinced by its results that it was for the highest good of the people.

The British Government has done much for education and enlightenment in this country. It made much earnest enquiry into the state of education in India before its own labours began. It has maintained, improved and extended the already existing system of vernacular instruction. It has organised higher education, built and equipped schools and colleges for its maintenance and encouraged private efforts by pecuniary assistance. It has introduced us to European learning and civilisation. It has upheld the ideal of education for the masses no less than the classes. For all this we owe it a debt of warm and earnest gratitude. But in recognising the much that has been done, we are bound to note serious limitations and failures. I refer especially to the neglect of the Government to carry out, in anything like an adequate degree, its repeatedly professed policy with regard to primary instruction. This failure has been frankly admitted by Lord Curzon in words already cited. I shall

point out one plain fact which proves every letter of his admission. As a result of his enquiries into the state of education in Bengal in the thirties, Mr. Adam reported to Lord Bentinck that 5·55 per cent. of the adult male population could read and write, and about 13 per cent. of the children of school-going age were receiving instruction, public or private. In 1891, in the same province, 10·8 were literate or learners ; even in Bombay and Madras, which gave higher figures, they reached 14 and 14·9, while for all India the total is 10·9 only. This shows an increase of about 5 per cent. in 50 years. The Government of the United States recently diminished the number of its illiterates by the same percentage within ten years. If the policy announced in despatches and minutes had been followed out in practice, there would have been something better than this paltry advance. Rulers and Governments may have high intentions and noble ideals, but unless they exercise continual vigilance to secure their execution by the officials in whose hands the application of principles rests, these are likely to remain on paper as unfulfilled professions. It is one more striking proof of the conclusion to which all reason and all history leads us, that the most benevolent Government is helpless to effect real improvement unless it confides in the people and educates them to co-operate with the Government in securing good administration and national progress.

That after so many decades of education 89 per cent. of the population should remain illiterate, is in itself a lamentable fact ; but a study of the table of comparative figures on the opposite page brings it into yet more striking relief.

A comparison of the figures showing the ratio of expenditure on education to the total revenue will indicate clearly one principal reason of the failure.

Into other defects of the present system, such as the mechanical nature of its methods, want of originality, deficient result in moral health and energy, I do not wish at present to enter ; for my present concern is with primary and not with higher education. But one thing has become clear, that only a very small initial portion of the work to be done has as yet been completed.

Its great task yet awaits the British Government. By an adequate increase of expenditure on education, by the improvement of methods and the elevation of ideals, by the extension of primary

instruction, by the adoption of compulsory legislation embracing all the children, girls as well as boys of school-going age, to raise this country to something like a level with other civilised nations, is the work by which we expect British rule in India to signalise itself in the near future. With an energetic policy, I believe, a few

** Some figures showing the state and progress of Education in several well-known Countries.*

No.	Name of the State or Province.	Percentage of children under instruction to total population.	Percentage of illiterate to total population.	Percentage of expenditure on education to total Revenue.	Expenditure of education per head.	Variations of increase or decrease during the decades shown.			
						Percentage of the illiterate in 1861.	Increase + or Decrease in 1891	Percentage of the illiterate in 1881	Increase + or Decrease in 1881
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Canada	22'4	Not obtainable	18'006	5-12-0				
2	Switzerland	20'6	do.	20'52	3-12-1				
3	United States	20'02	13'3	34'77	7-13-0	1880 17 p.c.	-3'7		
4	United Kingdom of Great Britain.	18'2	4'7	8'95	3-15-0				
5	Germany	15'4	0'11	3'73	0-14-9				
6	France	14'4	Not obtainable	0'41	0-3-9			1873 36'9	
7	Japan	9'3	do.	1'76	0-2-5				
8	Italy	8'07	61'8	2'75	0-14-3			1861	
9	Russia	3'5	Not obtainable	2'94	0-10-2			78 p.c.	
10	India	1'5	94'1	0'95	0-0-8½	95'19	-1		
	Bengal Presidency	2'3	94'4	1'17	0-0-6½	95'52	-1'1		
	Madras Presidency	2'3	92'1	1'38	0-0-10	92'98	-0'8	95'03	-2'05
	Mysore	2'04	94'3	3'34	0-1-9½	94'18	+0'2	95'91	-1'73
	Bombay Presidency.	3'4	92'77	1'44	0-1-10½	93'94	-1'17		
	Baroda	4'4	92'4	6'5	0-7-0	94'36	-1'9	95'29	0'93

generations—let us say, broadly, the close of this century—ought to see the whole population of India able to read and write. Germany, spending only 3'73 per cent. of its revenues on Education, has been able, within the space of a hundred years, to reduce the number of its illiterates to the vanishing point and convert its ignorant and poverty-stricken agricultural masses into a successful, enterprising and educated nation. The task in India shows vaster proportions, but

is not, in its nature or its circumstances, more difficult. In any case, it is a duty which no Government can conscientiously avoid. Democracies or Governments with a democratic basis undertake universal education because the people have a controlling voice in the affairs of the country, others from national self-interest that they may hold their own in war, commerce and expansion. But in dependent countries like India it becomes a duty not to oneself but to humanity, a sacred mission to which the voice of Providence itself has called the rulers.

Other peoples may make the splendour of their own fortunes their monument of capacity and success. To take into its hands the destinies of a once great but long fallen and languishing country, to foster it into renewed life, to raise ignorant and stricken masses from darkness into light, from abject misery and helplessness to self-respect, energy and hope, is the unique opportunity that Providence has given to the British nation. But it is not by land-acts protecting them from money-lenders where they ought to be trained to protect themselves, nor is it by conceding municipal or other powers which are afterwards curtailed on the ground that they are unequal to a task for which they were never prepared, that they can be raised into an economically prosperous or politically capable community. If this great work is to be done, if the people are to be prepared for political responsibility and enlightenment, if they are to take an intelligent part in civil and social life as good and wise fathers, sons, husbands, friends, officials, citizens, if they are to rise from a state of repeated famine and chronic destitution into a commercially and industrially efficient community, making use of the natural and geographical advantages bestowed on them, if, in short, India is to live and not to stagnate, it can only be by the provision of universal education. It surely cannot be that the serious prosecution of so necessary and noble a work will be much longer delayed.

SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, MR. CAINE AND THE PROSPERITY MYTH.

THE only M. P. in the present House of Commons, who can be seriously regarded as "Member for India," is Mr. W. S. Caine. In the expiring Session he has asked many questions, and taken the leading part in one important debate upon the condition of the agricultural masses in India. The want of Anglo-Indian experts in the House, and the utter boredom with which Indian subjects are viewed both by the constituencies and their Parliamentary representatives combine to give Lord George Hamilton a safe walk-over, whenever a discussion arises on any matter in his department. Though his Lordship has held office as Under-Secretary and Secretary of State for India for twelve years, and was for some time, between his former and present term, in the cold shade of the Opposition, he has never taken the trouble to set foot east of Suez, or to otherwise acquire the knowledge which is necessary for the due discharge of his high duties. Owing to his superficial acquaintance with India, his pronouncements necessarily conform to the information and opinions of his official advisers, all men chosen by himself, and consequently in a great measure optimists as he is. Whenever he has to reply to Mr. Caine he strings off pleasing platitudes and half-truths to empty benches, and next day John Bull reads the "debate" in his morning paper, and in his easy-going fashion plumes himself that, through the justice and benevolence of his representatives in India, his three hundred millions of fellow-subjects out there are happy and prosperous. So obnoxious is India to the 667 legislators of the nation, that if a speech dealing with the tabooed subject is listened to by a round dozen of them, the attendance is reckoned good—for India.

To such a full house was it Mr. Caine's good fortune to discourse on February 3rd last.

In carefully prepared language he gave reasons for holding that the cultivating masses in India were, under the operation of our inelastic and unsympathetic system of administration, rapidly sinking into the position of helots under the capitalist classes. He reminded his hearers that famines were now recurring with increasing frequency and intensity, and he insisted that the root cause of the prevailing destitution of the peasantry was the rigid exaction of excessive land revenue rates, both in ordinary years and even throughout periods of scarcity, during which latter the assesses had either to live on public charity or borrowed money. He also pressed home the charge that the drain upon India, caused by the annual remittance to England of some twenty millions sterling without economic return, was contributing largely to the destitution of India's peoples. To most minds his indictment was powerful and in some respects unanswerable, but its effect was spoilt by the remedy suggested for the existing evils in the body politic. He recommended that the Government of India should be required to borrow some two hundred million sterling wherewith to liquidate the debts owed by the agriculturists to the money-lenders and so enable the tillers of the soil to enjoy the fruits of their own industry. Beyond throwing out the opinion that "the Imperial exchequer ought to bear the whole of this burden," he did not clearly indicate whence the interest on this enormous loan was to be obtained, or by what means the peasantry were to be protected against the fatal facility for getting into debt, which the possession of marketable assets and the so-called freedom of contract encourages.

The force of Mr. Caine's arguments that the Government, and not Providence, was responsible for the loss of status and the general indebtedness of the working masses in India, was strengthened by the fact that for the preceding six years, with one brief interval, areas and populations in India, larger than those of France and England combined, had been famine-afflicted, and that, although officially famine had ceased, half a million of starving persons were being still kept alive with food-doles supplied by the Government.

In his elaborate defence of the wisdom and success with which Indian affairs are administered, Lord George Hamilton reiterated for perhaps the twelfth time, but with less self-confidence than on previous occasions, what may be called his "prosperity myth." He

candidly acknowledged that "India is very poor," that "one section of the agricultural community are becoming more and more in debt," and that "our only claim to rule India is the belief that we can improve the national prosperity in the people: and if it can be shown that that material prosperity was deteriorated, there is a flaw in our title to govern India, which cannot easily be remedied or effaced." Having made this admission, he proceeded to repeat the old official creed that "the community of India is prosperous, and her economic condition is slightly improving, and not deteriorating."

He based that pronouncement on what he called "the clear and indisputable evidence" afforded by the following facts:—

(1) A smaller mortality in the famines of 1896-1901 than of 1876-78.

(2) A smaller proportion of agriculturists to dependents on relief in the 1896-1901 series of famines than in that of 1876-78.

(3) A smaller proportionate area out of cultivation in the last two famines than in their predecessors.

(4) Year after year steady material progress in India judged by the tests of prosperity applied to European countries—increases in production, in returns from direct and indirect taxation and in exports and imports.

If examined, it will be seen that the "clear and indisputable evidence" of the above four propositions does not help to prove his Lordship's contention. Taking each in the above order, the reasons are as follows:—

(1) The reduction in the mortality, if it occurred, is due to improved famine-relief administration, not to the improved famine-resisting powers of the people. If it be remembered that the census of 1901 showed that in the preceding decade the increase of population was practically *nil*, whereas for the two previous decades it was—allowing a discount for progressively greater accuracy in the enumeration—25 and 23 millions respectively, the reasonable deduction is that since 1890 there has been an enormous increase in mortality from starvation—an increase of apparently something like 20 millions.

(2) If this is correct, the explanation lies in the fact that in 1876-78, famine administration was less strict, exacting less labour, and more readily tolerating class distinctions than in 1896-1901.

(3) If correct, this would appear to show that in a given area the loss of plough cattle was less wholesale in 1896-1901 than in former famines. The point, however, appears of small importance as an argument.

(4) The assumption drawn from these criteria is doubtless sound in the case of advanced homogeneous European countries, in which the general level of education and business qualifications is high, but applied to ignorant, stagnant and heterogeneous India, it is unwarranted and misleading. In India prosperity depends more on the due diffusion of wealth than upon its actual volume. The Secretary of State regards India as a unit, but he should also regard it as an agglomeration of nearly 300 millions of units. It is a reasonable inference from all the direct evidence yet collected that from one-third to one-half of India's peasantry and yeomen—the great majority from thirty to sixty years ago, according to province, the unencumbered right-holders in their villages—are now either landless or involved in debt. If so, this deterioration in their economic condition disproves the Government assertion that except "one section" they are prosperous. The "one section," excluded by Lord George Hamilton, are doubtless the submerged peasantry of the Punjab and Bombay, the only provinces in which detailed local inquiries have as yet been carried out. If this is so, is it not a fair presumption that similar inquiries elsewhere would disclose similar conditions? Were that proved, his Lordship holds there would be "a flaw in our title to govern India, which cannot easily be remedied or effaced." Is it, then, not his duty to ascertain by local inquiries whether the flaw exists or not? Is it statesmanlike, or just to India for the India Office, in face of recurring famines and accumulating evidences of the increasing poverty of the agricultural masses, to rest satisfied by annually reiterating a belief in their prosperity, when the true facts can easily and cheaply be ascertained by the institution of precise inquiries, such as those which for the Punjab proved that that belief was erroneous? Can it be denied that all the statistical data from which the prosperity view is derived are compatible with an economic condition in which the majority of the cultivators in India might be tenants-at-will of a wealthy few, and that all the evidence available points to the probability that such a state of things, if not already present everywhere, is rapidly approaching?

The apprehension that this is probably the case rests on the fact that whenever, wherever and by whomsoever close inquiries into the economic state of the agriculturists of India have taken place, the result has been that they have been found to be indebted and deteriorating in status. This assertion may be confirmed by reference to (1) the inquiries and findings of Bombay Revenue Officers from 1852 onward on the condition of the ryots of the Bombay Deccan ; (2) the report of the special Commission appointed after the insurrection of those ryots in 1875 ; (3) the rather loose but still pertinent inquiries conducted, from time to time, since 1859, in the N. W. Provinces and generally for British India in 1881 and onwards, all brought together in a digest prepared under the orders of Lord Elgin in 1895-96 ; (4) the conclusion of the Famine Commission in 1880 "from evidence collected from all parts of India, that about one-third of the land-holding classes are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves" ; (5) the facts established in the detailed village inquiries in the Punjab in 1896 ; and lastly (6) the estimate made by Sir Antony Mac-Donnell's Commission in 1900-1901, to the effect that probably at least one-fourth of the cultivators in Bombay have lost possession of their lands, that less than one-fifth are free from debt, and that the remainder are indebted to a greater or less extent.

In those six cases inquiries numbers (2) and, in a stricter sense, (5) were wholly based on facts proved to have occurred by tracing the economic condition of villages and peasant-proprietary families downwards from a period of freedom from debt to the time of the inquiry ; hence in those two cases the results obtained were absolutely correct and reliable—a fact which enabled the Government of India to legislate drastically for both the Bombay Deccan and the Punjab. The incompleteness and untrustworthiness of Indian statistics in matters affecting the condition of the rural population has repeatedly been regretted by the Government of India and local Governments in India—even so lately as by Sir Antony Mac-Donnell's Commission, who complained that "no precise official information exists" on those matters—and when widespread evils traceable to the operation of our "system" have demonstrated the necessity of correcting them, time after time has the want of

accurate and reliable information been successfully urged by *laissez faire* local Governments as sufficient reason for inaction. That want will continue to be felt, and effective reforms, if introduced at all, will be more or less of the nature of "leaps in the dark" until detailed local inquiries are carried out, exact facts ascertained for every province in India, and those facts publicly admitted to be true by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy in Council. If these inquiries are not undertaken and the prosperity myth continues to be advanced by the officials responsible to the British nation for the well-being of the Indian peoples, the only possible explanation will be that the Government of India is afraid to publish to the world its colossal failure—to use Lord George Hamilton's words—"to justify our only claim to rule India," viz., that we have improved "the material prosperity of the people."

S. S. THORBURN.

MEMORIES OF MARTINIQUE.

THE calendar assures us that we have not yet left winter behind. Were it not for this evidence we should imagine that we had reached the height of an Indian summer. The sky above us is a quivering vault of blue—a blue so intense that eyes accustomed to the sober tints of the North can hardly bear to look at it; the sea beneath and around us is like a vast vat of translucent indigo, the dimples of its surface turned to pools of liquid gold by the sun; the breeze which fans our faces is a warm caress.

We are in Martinique harbour! The boom of our signal gun is even now being answered by a volley of mock artillery from the hills and hollows which lie about the base of la Montagne Pelée, and the red roofs and yellow walls of St. Pierre peep and wink at us from among the mass of tropical foliage in which the town is set.

Our first impression is that the majority of the islanders must be amphibious. The cable has hardly finished roaring through the hawse-hole, before we are surrounded and beset by a strange medley of craft which swarm about us like ants round the body of a dead cockroach. There are stately lighters on the look-out for freight; there are tiny "dugouts," whose little naked glistening occupants jabber excited patois as they circle round the ship, waiting to dive for the coppery shower which rains from the promenade deck; there are boats piled high with fruits which Murillo had loved to paint; there are the canotiers (the local wherry-men), each asserting in shrill creole the superiority of his particular skiff over every other boat in the harbour.

One of these gentry, more enterprising than the rest, informs us that he had the privilege of rowing us ashore upon the occasion of our last visit. And though, as it happens, we have never been to the island before, the delightful naiveté of the assurance pleases us, and we signal to him to approach the foot of the companion ladder.

In actual fact, the strip of blue water which lies between us and the beach is but a span, yet, as we mount the worn slippery steps of the

jetty and gaze about us, we feel as if we had bridged the gulf which divides us from some city of the Arabian Nights. Very different this from the towns of the English West Indies. They are commonplace, dull—as lacking in distinction as a table-d'hôte-dinner. This is strange, fantastical—a feast of colour and quaintness that would satisfy the most exigent of artists. In place of shingle and corrugated iron, you have walls of solid stone, coloured a clear cool yellow, and peaked roofs of red tile with projecting dormer windows. None of the windows are glazed. They are fitted with moveable jalousies painted bright green or bluish grey. There are no signs on the outsides of the shops to indicate the particular branch of trade carried on within. To satisfy your curiosity you must penetrate into the dimness of the interior, and even then you will be somewhat uncertain as to whether you are in an ironmongery establishment or a provision dealer's. They are selling salt fish at the haberdasher's, perfume and toothbrushes at the confectioner's, children's toys at the cheesemonger's, millinery and gloves at the stationer's, chocolates and acid drops in the tobacconist's, until, like the man in the vulgar little song, you "dunno where you are."

The streets are narrow and thread their way between the houses with a superb disdain for parallel lines. They never seem to be quite sure what they are going to do next. They twist and turn and rise and curve and dart off at right angles and run foul of one another in a manner quite surprising, while those which cross the town and ascend to the morne are so steep that, as a humorous writer once remarked, you have to be careful not to sneeze when walking up them for fear you should fall off into the road below.

Everywhere there is the sound of running water—limpid, ice-cold water coming straight down from mountain-springs—and as it whispers through the gutters and splashes in the fountains, it makes a sort of tinkling accompaniment to the soft pad-pad of naked feet on the stone pavement.

And what of the people? Do they harmonise with their surroundings? Admirably. In their way they are unique, these Martiniquais—unique, it is said, in more than one direction. The West Indian of experience will tell you that nowhere else will you find anything to equal them in impudence; but of this peculiarity the chance visitor has but little opportunity of judging. He can only aver that in no other island has he seen a race that can compete with them in physical beauty.

Here you see but few ebony skins and but little of the brute-like

ugliness of the pure negro. The prevailing tint of complexion is yellow—yellow in every imaginable tone and semi-tone, richest ochre to palest lemon, and, similarly, the features are only faintly suggestive of an African strain. The eyes are larger, the jaw and cheek-bones less pronounced, the lips less thick, the limbs cast in a finer mould than those of the negro. You have, in short, a racial type, quite distinct from any other to be met with in the Antilles—a type produced by the perpetual crossing and re-crossing of the blood of the European, the blood of the Carib and the blood of the negro. Whether or not, this inter-blending of the three races is likely to be productive of good moral results, we do not pretend to say: we only know that, from the point of view of the sculptor, it would be impossible to find elsewhere finer specimens of the human animal. Especially is this the case with the women. Their port is superb (a superiority which they doubtless owe to their custom of carrying all burdens on their heads from earliest childhood) and, though the sun has looked upon them, they are comely—comely as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.

Their dress, too, is calculated to show off their dark skins and lithe springy movements to perfection, for they have a sense of colour and of form that might rouse envy and despair in the heart of a Mayfair beauty. With the utmost daring they will mingle together crimson, yellow, blue and green, violet, lilac, rose and purple, all in their brightest tints; yet so unerring is their eye for effective contrasts that you never see two colours clash, or the wrong combination of colours against the wrong skin.

Would you picture a *fille de couleur* in all the rainbow splendour of full dress? Then, to begin with, imagine a bronze-tinted goddess, who, be her face plain or pretty, carries her head with the air of a queen, and is limbed like the Venus of Milo.

Now take an enormous Madras handkerchief—it may be barred and striped with purple or black, but the ground-work must be bright yellow—and twist it about her head turban-wise, but in such a manner that one stiffened end can be drawn up through the front folds like an aigrette. To complete the coiffure, fasten massive gold brooches one on either side and one in the centre. Next come the earrings—the most favourite design being five gold cylinders fastened together—cylinders, perhaps two inches long and at least an inch in circumference. And now for the *pièce de résistance*—the necklace of one, two, three, four, or even five rows of large hollow gold beads—the coveted, the indispensable collier choux. Remember, please, that all this jewellery must be

the real metal. None of your pinchbeck, none of your rolled gold will pass muster. The earrings of a Martinique quadroom may be worth a hundred and seventy-five francs a pair, while the necklace may cost anything from five hundred to a thousand francs. The latter may be given to the girl by her doudoux, her lover; but it is more usual to buy it on the instalment system or else to purchase it bead by bead until the set is complete.

As for the rest of our lady's costume, it is simple enough. An embroidered chemise with sleeves, and a skirt or jupe worn very long behind, but caught up in front and fastened below the breast, are her only garments. Add to this a foulard or handkerchief, of contrasting colour to the dress, which is thrown over the shoulders, and you have a costume which is, in all essentials, the exact counterpart of that worn by the belles affranchies of a hundred and fifty years ago.

It must not, of course, be supposed that you often see such rich attire as this in the street. The peasant women carrying burdens on their heads—peddling vegetables, fruit, cakes, charcoal, ready-cooked food, and goodness knows what besides—are simply dressed in a plain robe of vivid colours, the douillette reaching from neck to heel, but well girt up in front, to leave the legs bare and free.

They are one of the pleasantest sights of St. Pierre, these itinerant shopkeepers, with their easy swinging grace, their firm free step and their bright eyes which flash glances in at every doorway, watching for a customer's signal. Even their shrill street cries produce occasional concords of sweet sound which fall very agreeably on the ear.

"Aie," chants this one in her soft patois, "people upstairs, people downstairs, and all ye good folks who dwell in the attics, know that I have very good and very beautiful fish to sell."

"Ho," cries another, in a far-reaching falsetto, "run out, little children, if you like sweet cakes. Come out all you who want to buy charcoal or ducks or pretty little loaves."

After these comes the pastry-seller, who, for some unknown reason, is a man and a negro to boot, but white-capped and aproned like a cook. He announces his approach with a bell and in a sing-song, half French, half patois, informs the public that though he has been up all night working for his living, yet is he toujours content, toujours joyeux.

He, again, is closely followed (not inappropriately, you fancy) by the pharmacienne, a strapping young mulatresse, who deals in creole roots and herbs and all the leaves and grasses used in the concoction of tisanes or poultices or medicines.

Do not, however, wax too enthusiastic over these machannes (*marchandès*). You will do well to reserve your admiration until you have seen some representatives of the calling in its highest form of evolution—to wit, the *porteuses*.

These, the professional carriers, who penetrate far into the heart of the country, laden with great packs of merchandise which they sell on commission, are to their town-dwelling sisters what the thorough-bred racer is to the jobbing hack, and they form a class so remarkable as to deserve more than a passing word of notice.

At a very early age, say, at five or six, the training of the future *porteuse* begins. She is, first of all, taught to carry small weights upon her head—an orange on a plate, a can of water, a calabash of eggs, anything will do—and she quickly becomes so skilful that she can balance these unstable articles quite easily without touching them with her hands even when walking very quickly.

As her years increase, so does her burden, until, by the time she is ten or twelve, she can carry quite a large basket of fruit or vegetables, and is fit to accompany her mother or sister on a fifteen-mile expedition. At sixteen or seventeen years of age she has attained her full development and it would be difficult to find a finer specimen of athletic womanhood than she now presents. Tall, lithe, graceful, strong, all firm flesh and well-knit bone and sinew, she is a splendid example of the economy of force, and with the confidence of one who knows her strength and staying power, she prepares for her arduous journey.

In place of the elaborate "*Madras*," she ties a gay but simple *mouchoir* round her head. Then she dons her oldest chemise, her most faded cotton robe. This is all she wears. On one side of her waist she carries a coarse canvas purse, and on the other a small bottle of native rum—this last as a preventive against sickness. She may be compelled to drink water from many doubtful sources on her way; and to take it into the system undiluted would be to invite dysentery and other kindred ills, so she takes the precaution of adding to it a little of the fiery spirit. The only thing now wanting to complete her outfit is the *tôche*, which is merely a piece of coarse cloth twisted and patted into a flat circular pad. This pad she places upon her head to take the pressure of her heavy burden off her skull. And now she is ready, ready to have the huge wooden tray of goods—weighing perhaps a hundred and fifty pounds—hoisted up and poised upon her head; ready to start on a fifty-mile journey over blazing white roads, through dim forest tracks haunted by the deadly *fer-de-*

lance, up zigzagging mountain paths, down precipitous slopes into dark ravines.

By this arduous means, by travelling all day and every day, through soaking rain and scorching heat, a girl with a talent for selling may make the princely income of thirty francs a month! And yet, like the pastry-cook before-mentioned, she is always happy, always content.

Sometimes, when the porteuses are journeying in companies of fifteen or twenty strong, they will sing snatches of local ditties, or, if they are weary, they will stride along by the hour together as silent as Sphinxes; but she who travels alone is rarely quiet for many minutes together. You may hear her talking to herself or to inanimate things. She talks to the far-off mountains, to the clouds, to the birds, to the setting sun. She sees a palm-tree curving its crest towards her from the roadside, and she laughs and bids it good-evening. Or she is clambering up a winding hill-path, and, looking back, she sees the great wide vista of the sea stretching away and away far below, and she says, "Mi lanmé ka gadé moin!" (There is the great sea looking at me). "Maché toujou deïe moin lanmé!" (Walk after me, O Sea!)

Sometimes she meets a laden sister journeying in the opposite direction, and then she will cry, "Coument ou yé, chè?" And the other replies, "Toutt douce chè, et ou?" (All sweetly dear—and thou?)

They have no time for more. They meet and greet and separate, like ships that pass in the night. We are told that robbery and murder are by no means unheard-of crimes in Martinique; but, apparently, the porteuses are never molested. Certainly, they are not afraid of being attacked on their lonely journeys; indeed, they are afraid of nothing—of nothing, that is, save Zombis, and everybody is afraid of them. Probably there is no people on the face of the earth who have a superstitious dread of the supernatural so deeply bred in their bone as these Martiniquais. Certainly, nowhere in the world would it be possible to find more phantoms, spirits, demons and ghosts to the square mile than await you here. There is hardly a plantation but has its own private zombi; hardly a ravine or headland about which no ghostly tradition hangs. As for legends, the crop is inexhaustible. There is the Démarche legend of the spectral horseman who rides up the hill on the days when the sun is brightest, seeking a friend buried more than a hundred years ago. There is the tradition of Thomasseau of Perinelle, whose body was taken out of its coffin and carried away by the devil through a certain window of the plantation house—the which window cannot be closed by human power. There is a story of Aimée Derivry—

a beautiful creole—who was captured by Barbary pirates and sold to become a Sultana—Validé—and so on *ad infinitum*.

To delve beneath the rich deposits of fancy which have accumulated round the small nugget of fact, whereon any one of these legends is founded, is a task requiring considerable ingenuity and much patience. But it is a healthful and instructive exercise, inasmuch as it gives you an insight into the way in which a very simple incident may, by constant repetition, become metamorphosed into a story of blood-curdling interest. Take, for example, the case of *Messié Bon*. Throughout the island you will find no legendary expression more common than the *temps couvent de Messié Bon* (the time of the big wind of Monsieur Bon). If a hurricane threatens, you will hear the inhabitants expressing a hope that it may not be like the *couvent Messié Bon*. And some years back, in the local police-courts, it was quite the usual thing for old coloured folk, who could not tell their age, to give the magistrate some clue to the year of their birth by describing their stature at the time of the *couvent Messié Bon*. Pressed for some explicit account of their famous or infamous compatriot, the country-people say this : “ *Messié Bon* used to be a great slave-owner and a very cruel master. He was a very wicked man, and he treated his slaves so badly that, at last, the *Bon Dié* (the Good God) sent a great wind which blew away *Messié Bon* and *Messié Bon*’s house and everybody in it ; so that nothing was ever heard of them any more.” Now compare this terse but explicit biography with the actual story as related by the grandson of a great friend of this much-maligned Frenchman. Somewhere about the year 1809 Monsieur Bon held the office of collector of customs at St. Pierre. In this way he came in contact with all the ship captains in the place, and one morning he accepted an invitation from one of the said captains to breakfast. It was a beautiful day—fine and clear—but all of a sudden a dreadful storm arose. The captain could not wait to lard his guest, he slipped his anchor, hoisted jib and royals, and made for the open, and from thence onward nothing was ever heard of captain, barque or Monsieur Bon. As for the character of the supposed desperado, it was as mild as that of a country clergyman. He was as kind and benevolent an old soul as ever breathed. Never said a harsh word to anybody, and never had a slave in his life !

But enough of legend-making and legend-breaking. Let us descend to something frankly materialistic. Let us turn to the fascinating subject of Martinique cookery. Not, if you please, the cookery of the whites. This follows so closely the precedents laid down by the Mother Country

that it offers but little interest to the lover of local colour. It may be dismissed with the remark that it is the cookery of Provence rather than of Paris, of southern more than of northern France. It was in the territory of *mange-créole* that our investigations were carried on, and research was repaid by the discovery of many dishes that would have been a revelation to Mrs. Beeton. To begin in orderly fashion with the soups, it may be said that there are only two kinds known to the Martiniquais—the *calalou* and the *soupe d'habitan*. The latter is the prime favourite, and is made by boiling yams, carrots, bananas, turnips, choux-carabes, pumpkin, salt pork and pimento, all up together into a conglomerate mass. The pork is omitted on Fridays, and, indeed, at all times meat is only eaten in the smallest quantities by the coloured people. This is partly owing to its cost, but more especially to the natural distaste for heating food which is induced by residence in the tropics. With these islanders the staple article of diet—the thing which takes the place of the beef and mutton of Old England—is salt cod-fish, and infinite are the ways of preparing this apparently unmanageable food. The most simple and most popular is that called “*féroce*,” but it is by no means as alarming as its name implies. The fish is simply fried and served with vinegar, oil and pimento, manioc flour and avocado pear (a vegetable, the size of a turnip, which cuts rather like cream cheese) being considered indispensable adjuncts.

If you are too much of an epicure to care for the ferocious method, you may have *lamori au gratin*, in which case the fish is boned, pounded up with toast crumbs, and boiled into a mush with butter, onions and pepper. Or you may have it stewed in a variety of ways—with butter and oil, with oil and garlic, with potatoes and milk, with butter and pimento, and so on and so forth.

As for the fresh fish, there are so many varieties that to name and describe them all would of itself fill a small pamphlet. Among the poor (with whom, of course, quantity is of more consequence than quality), the most popular is the tonne, an immense blue-grey creature with flesh solid as beef. Next in order of precedence come the lambi, the volants, the coulious and the sâdines. When it is said that the volants—the delicate flying-fish so dear to the Barbadian—are sold at four a sou, that sâdines can be bought for two sous a pound, that a pint of the nutritious manioc flour costs a like sum, and that the price of a big avocado pear is one sou, it will be understood that Martinique is, indeed, the paradise of the poor man. Why, a superb blaffe—enough for a family—may be made by boiling up four sous' worth of coulious (which are smaller and

more delicate than *sâdines*), with pimentos, lemons, onions, spices and-garlic.

The holiday luxuries of the peasant class are *manicou*, *verspalmiste*, *zandouilles* and *poule-épi-diri*. The *manicou* is one of the very few wild animals found in the West Indies. It is a plucky little marsupial which attacks the serpent and wages constant war with the field rat. It sells for two and a half francs at its cheapest, and is usually salted before being cooked. As for the *verspalmiste* it is a barbaric delicacy at best. It is the great worm or caterpillar found in the head of the cabbage-palm after the "cabbage" has been removed and the tree has begun to decay. These loathsome grubs are sold in the Place du Fort at two sous each. They are spitted alive, and are said to taste like almonds.

The *zandouille* is a kind of sausage made from pig buff, and is much esteemed for its richness; but it is only when you have tasted *poule-épi-diri* that you may be said to have reached the climax of good dining.

The most cantankerous of husbands is immediately softened to affability by the appearance on the dinner-table of *poule-épi-diri*; the naughtiest of children may be bribed into angelic goodness by the promise of this ambrosial dish. And yet the magic compound is nothing more remarkable than chicken and rice stewed together and flavoured with pimento. Pimento is ubiquitous in creole cookery. The difficulty would be to find the dish in which it is not used. There is, too, another element which has a trick of turning up with the most unexpected and disconcerting frequency—sugar, or, to give it its popular name, "*doux*."

You get *doux* in fresh milk, English porter, beer and cheap wines; and many vegetables, such as peas, are boiled in *eau sucré*. All this sweetness is at first very distasteful to the European palate, and one expects to be seized at least with a violent bilious attack in consequence of taking so much sugar; but, as a matter of fact, no evil results ensue, and the white folk soon grow as fond of sweet things as the natives.

From cookery to carnivals is a far cry, and yet to give a sketch, however imperfect, of Martinique without touching on the great annual festival of the people is impossible. It would be like talking of Spain and not mentioning bull-fights; like writing of Corsica and omitting *banditti*.

We are well on in March now, and for some days past the entire coloured population have been keeping holiday—that is to say, they have been devoting themselves body and soul to that species of merry-making which the dignified Englishman describes as "playing the fool."

And yet it is very quaint and pretty fooling ! Come up here and watch it from the Batterie d'Esnotz. It is very early in the morning, but 'it is not too early for the maskers. Already quite a goodly crowd has appeared round a far-off bend of the Rue Peysette, and as the human tide rolls on, it gathers force from innumerable streams and rivulets which flow into it from every alley, lane and bye-way.

Here they come ! Hurrying, leaping, dancing, running down the steep street leading from the mornes and looking—in their vivid motley—like a cascading tulip bed. There they are, tumbling into the Rue Victor Hugo, and see ! Now they are joined by the bands of the Intrépides and the Sans-soucis, the famous rival dancing troupes. They are rivals in other things besides dancing, these two societies. They are the composers of the carnival songs, those satires, the singing of which forms one of the chief features of the festival. The love of music is inherent in the blood of these simple children of nature. No sooner are they moved by any incident in the life of a prominent person than they seek to embody it in verse ; and thus writ in the memories of the people, the story will successfully defy "the tooth of time and razure of oblivion."

No one who has been made the subject of a carnival song need hope that the recollection of his folly will die with him. His sins of omission and commission will be as fresh as yesterday's scandal long after his bones have returned to the dust from whence they came. The words of these songs are often obscene, and the writers generally display a lofty indifference to all the laws of rhyme and metre. Indeed, they depend for effect solely on the melodies to which the verses are set, and these are often extremely pretty, varying from grave to gay, according to the nature of the words which they accompany.

By this time the scene in the high street reminds you of nothing so much as a kaleidoscope. Band after band sweeps by, the musicians dressed as women or in flaming yellow monkish attire. Before them the dancers are dancing backwards with the motion of skates, behind all leap and wave their hands as in pursuit. On every side you see nothing but laughing, shrieking, chattering, singing, practical joking crowd. It is in very truth a mad revel of merry, mischievous, harmless imps.

The dresses are on the whole disappointing. They are not as fantastic as one could wish. Crimson and yellow are the prevailing colours, and the mock religious habit is the favourite costume. Wherever you look you will see representatives of the Franciscan, Dominican and Penitent orders, their high-peaked hoods rising above the mob, their robes flapping wildly as they dance. There are no grotesques, but some of the

make-ups are of distinct local interest. Chief among these are the congo, ti manmaille (or baby), ti nègue gouos sirop (little molasses negro), and the diablesse. The congo represents a plantation hand. He wears a rough grey shirt, blue canvas trousers, a large mouchoir fatas and an enormous hat of Martinique straw. His badge of office is a cutlass. Rather an uninteresting individual this, especially when compared with the really pretty troupe of girls en bébé who follow him. They look quite charming in their embroidered chemises, lace-edged pantaloons, and beribboned caps, and their short skirts allow of a fine display of coloured stockings and dainty shoes. That dreadful-looking object yonder is the ti nègue gouos sirop. He typifies the original African ancestor, and is got up for the part in a loin cloth and a thick coating of soot and molasses !

Of Guiaresses (devilesses) there are very few—it takes an extremely tall woman for the rôle ; but they are the most interesting figures in the pageant. They represent a Martinique superstition which is worthy of the Rhineland. The islanders aver that, sometimes at noon on a hot day, a beautiful negress will pass through some isolated plantation, smiling at the workers in the fields, tempting the men to follow her. He who yields to the spell never returns, and, if at any time a labourer should mysteriously disappear, his companions say that la Guiaresse has taken him. The carnival costume of this dusky enchantress is simple enough. It consists merely of a black robe with white foulard and turban and black mask. She also carries a bom or large tin can which she drops every now and then with a crash. The tallest Guiaresse always walks before the rest, singing in a kind of chant “Jou ouvé” ? (Is it yet daybreak ?) And her sisters make answer in chorus “Jou pa noo ouvé.” (It is not yet say.)

But look ! What is that dance in full swing over yonder, which is holding the onlookers as with a spell ? Come and see. It is worth your while. It is the famous Bouèné. It is very old, this dance. Probably it had its origin in Central Africa, and even now there is more than a hint of savagery about it. It is not a decorous performance, but you forget to be shocked at the abandonment of the dancers in admiring the lithe animal grace of their movements. The hot sun blazes down upon them ; the heat of the roads is enough to blister their bare feet, but externals are nothing to them now. The blood runs like lava through their veins ; their every sense is throbbing in response to the quick, fierce beat of the music ; and though the sweat streams off them and their hearts are going like sledge-hammers, they are insensible to fatigue. Very different

this from the mechanical performance of the stage; very far removed from the slipshod waltzing to be seen in English ball-rooms.

The dancers are many in number, but the rhythm of their movements is so perfect that you might imagine them guided by a single impulse. They dart to and fro, they embrace and separate, they glide and twist and bow and clap their hands, all in perfect unison. They do it, too, with such keen zest—such a passionate sensual delight in every graceful bend and twirl that we could watch them for hours. We should like to do so, but we may not. Already we have lingered too long. The day has glided by with the silent swiftness of the dancers themselves, and even now the steamer which is to take us away is snorting with impatience in the harbour. Our West Indian night's entertainments are over. . . . As we draw slowly away from the land, the western sky is suffused with as many dyes as an artist's palette, and the cloudy coif which Mont Pelée always wears is touched into gold by the last shaft of sunlight. It is like a yellow Madras! The effect is only momentary. Swift as a shadow it passes, and the colours all around fade and merge into a velvety darkness. Down on the horizon the southern cross gleams tremulously, and far astern Martinique, le Pays des Revenants, is absorbed into the purple of the night.

DOROTHY HARDING.

THE MADRAS LAND REVENUE SYSTEM.

COLBERT, the great French financier, defined taxation as "the art of so plucking the goose as to secure the largest amount of feathers with the least amount of squealing." In the earlier stages of political society, the Government tried to get as much as it could from its subjects, while it tried to pay in return as little as it could. But with the establishment of British rule in this country, our ideas of taxation have changed, and we have come to regard taxes as a contribution to meet the general expenses of the Government, which each man is bound to pay according to the measure of his ability. This ideal is as yet very far from being realised in practice in this country. It was only a decade ago that Professor Mahaffy, of Dublin, spoke of the position of the Indian ryot as that of "a slave to earn tax for his rulers." In no country in the world does a Government enjoy so many monopolies as the Government of this country does. Land Revenue, Water Cess, Forest Revenue and Salt are the milch cows of the Government of India. These monopolies are directly connected with agriculture—the only industry by which we live and upon which we rely for all our means of economic progress in other directions. It is the one source from which the nation gets its food supply, the State its increasing revenue, and the trader the bulk of his exports and the means of paying for his imports. Briefly, this industry is the mainstay of our entire economic life. The assumption that low prices will result from Government ownership of these monopolies is not borne out by the facts. On the other hand, there is too much reason to think that these monopolies are more and more administered as a source of revenue rather than as a help to agricultural industry. The Government is unfortunately using its position of vantage to compel the payment of higher prices than people can afford to pay. Public

taxation, to which the ryots are the chief contributors, is steadily growing with the growing needs of a progressive administration.

Lord Curzon will be greatly mistaken if he thinks that his recent Resolution on the Land Revenue system has set the question at rest. The revenue systems of the different provinces vary, and, speaking of the Madras Presidency, with which I am acquainted, I venture to say that the reforms announced in the said Resolution do not in the least satisfy public expectations. "Progressive and graduated imposition of large enhancements," "greater elasticity in the revenue collection," and "reduction of assessments in cases of local deterioration during the currency of the settlement," may be sufficient in a province where the assessments are "equitable in character and moderate in incidence," and where there has been left to the cultivator of the soil "that margin of profit that will enable him to save in ordinary seasons and to meet the strain of exceptional misfortune." But in Madras, these conditions are almost entirely absent.

"The presidencies of Bengal and Madras were acquired under circumstances which have ever since continued to influence their revenue system. Bengal acquired at once the dominion of rich and fertile provinces, yielding a revenue much beyond its wants ; it had, therefore, no occasion to enter into any minute examination of the assessment ; it was satisfied with what it got from the Zamindars, and left them in possession of the lands on very easy terms. Madras, on the contrary, rose amidst poverty, and many struggles for existence. It never was able to pay its establishments : it acquired its territories by slow degrees, partly from the Nizam, but chiefly from Mysore ; and though the assessment had already been raised too high by those Governments, its own pressing necessities did not permit it to lower the demand, but forced it to enter into the most rigid scrutiny of the sources of the revenue, in order to keep it up ; and there has, in consequence, always been a pressure upon the ryots, which nothing but necessity could justify." (Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Volume No. XXII, page 16.) Even the Bombay rates are very much below the Madras rates. The Bombay Settlements have been very effective in bringing large areas of waste land under occupation, and this is due to the general lightness of the assessment. The description of Madras as the

"Cinderella of the Presidencies" is only too true. A large portion of the Madras Presidency is, however, under a perpetual settlement. Bombay has no Zamindaries. Out of the 90 millions of acres forming the area of the Madras Presidency, about $27\frac{1}{2}$ millions—or between one-third and one-fourth—are held by Zamindars. About 8 millions of acres are held by Inamdars. The coffee lands of the Neilgheries, Wynad and Shevaroy's are assessed in perpetuity. The total extent of ryotwari land under occupation is about $22\frac{1}{2}$ millions of acres, of which nearly 4 millions are returned as "occupied waste." The ryots pay for the whole occupied area, whether cultivated or not.

The Government imposes the land-tax on lands held on ryotwari tenure, by virtue of the prerogative of the Crown, and revises the same once every thirty years on such principles as may appear just and proper at each revision. Declarations proclaiming that there would be no re-classification of soils or re-valuation of grain out-turns, but that the assessments would be revised solely with reference to prices, had been in circulation till 1895. People had actually invested money in land, relying on these declarations. But when the time came for giving effect to them, the Government coolly cast them to the winds and sought to obtain increases not warranted by a rise in prices. In the revision settlements of the Trichinopoly, Godavari and Kistna districts, the soils in the deltaic tracts have been re-classified and the ryots' improvements deliberately taxed in such re-classification. The actual work of classification is practically done by a low-paid agency. In the case of individual holdings, the enhancements went up to 200—300 per cent. and even more. There are no rules imposing any limitations upon the enhancements to be made at any one revision. It is always very difficult to determine the actual net profits of a land. The gross profits are comparatively easy to determine. The difficulty is to determine what deductions should be made from them before we reach at what is available as net profits. "It is not that the conclusions of the Settlement Department are based on actual facts bearing upon each item of calculation in the theoretical process, but the facts are adjusted to suit the increase of revenue previously fixed upon." And there is no one to verify the estimates of the Settlement Department in the light of actualities, either before or after the settlement—much less to inquire whether the margin left to the ryots is sufficient even for their most necessary

requirements. Even in theory, the ryot's share is reduced from a half to three-eighths, since the imposition of the local cesses. In this connection, it must be remembered that, "when the principle regulating the share of the net produce which was to represent the land-tax was settled in 1856, it was intended the charges for the maintenance of roads and of village establishments should be met out of the Government assessment, and accordingly it was declared that the assessment included a percentage set apart for this purpose. The original principle has since so far been departed from by the development of the system of local taxation that, as regards the local land cess, at all events, the charges which it was intended should be met from the Government share of the produce are now practically met out of the ryot's share."

Before the introduction of the provincial contract, when the Provincial Government did not expect to share in any increase of the land revenue, it was not directly interested in its expansion. But, being in greater touch with the people, it sympathised with the hardships felt by the ryots in any such increase, and it was, therefore, more willing to listen to the complaints of the ryots against any increase in the assessment. A perusal of the Land Revenue reports and of the correspondence between the Governments of India and Madras inclines us to come to the conclusion that, in the older days, the Government of Madras was more determined in its opposition to the demands of the Government of India for revisions of settlement. We do not now see that same resistance to increasing the burdens of the people, which is visible in the older records of the Government.

The land revenue has steadily increased during the last ten years, it being 481·23 lakhs of rupees in Fasli 1298 and 576·12 lakhs in Fasli 1308. This increase is due to a great extent to the increased assessments under revised settlements and to the enhanced water rates, and, to an inconsiderable extent, to fresh lands taken up for cultivation. With regard to extension of cultivation, a resolution of the Madras Government says: "High prices had caused an increase in the cultivation and much risky speculation in land. Any person can obtain land by applying for it, and a desire of becoming land-owner is strong and general." Increase of revenue becomes a source of satisfaction when it springs from the growing prosperity of

the people, as evidenced by larger proceeds of old taxes. But there is no room for such satisfaction in the forced increases consequent upon enhanced taxation on land. "Such taxation," says Sir William Markby, "comes to the people of this country not as it comes to the rich as a deprivation of some of the luxuries of life, but as an aggravation of the pinch of poverty. At no stage of the settlement operations are the tax-payers consulted and even the more moderated suggestions of its own Revenue officers are overruled by the Government, when they are in conflict with those of the Settlement Department."

The water-cess policy, too, has been radically changed in recent years. Whether one can or cannot approve of the Irrigation laws framed by the Indian Legislature and their administration, one cannot possibly refrain from acknowledging the incalculable benefits conferred by the irrigation works, and the enormous increase created in the productive capacity of the country by their construction. If the proposition that the interests of the Government and of the people are identical is true in any case, it is in the matter of irrigation. Each province has its own Irrigation Cess Act, and the law for Madras is contained in Act VII of 1865, as amended by Act I of 1900. If the old Act authorised the Government to levy the rates only in cases in which the water is voluntarily taken by the ryot, the Amendment Act has introduced a violent change. It legalises the levy of such rates also in cases in which the water reaches a field by percolation, if it is beneficial to and sufficient for the requirements of the crop. In giving his assent to the Act, His Excellency the Viceroy, however, laid down the condition that the water rate is to be levied only when a full and constant supply of water is assured. Whether these conditions exist or not in a given case is a matter entirely for the determination of the Collector, and his orders cannot be questioned in a Civil Court. His proceedings are not even of a judicial nature. In ninety cases out of a hundred the Collector's opinion means the opinion of the village officers and Revenue Inspectors. The value of water to an agriculturist in this country is so great that he will certainly not fail to avail himself of it, if he can obtain it on reasonable terms. When he does not so avail himself of it, it may well be presumed that those terms are unreasonable, and that the rates demanded should be reduced,

rather than that he should be forced—as the Amendment Act contemplates—to take water at rates that do not yield him a fair profit. The amendments embodied in the Act are without a parallel in the legislation of any other province. Moreover, the Act applies not merely to the Ryotwari lands but also to the permanently settled Estates and Inams, from whose owners all that the Government could claim is a *fair* price for water voluntarily taken by them for irrigation purposes. The Government, while charging for the benefit which a land is supposed to have derived from the water that reaches it by percolation, practically disclaims its responsibility to compensate the land-owners for any injury caused by such water. The power of framing the rules under which, and fixing the rates at which, water for irrigation is to be supplied is surrendered by the Legislature into the hands of the Executive. Government means well, but not always does well. It raises the rates without a sufficient knowledge of local conditions. Water rates have been raised by leaps and bounds even in the case of canals which are yielding a direct net return of 12 per cent. In fact, the rates charged under certain irrigation systems are so high as to bar the use of water on certain lands that really benefit by canal irrigation. And they are also much higher than those charged in Northern India.

When examining the effect of a tax on profits, Mill declares that “it may operate in different ways. The curtailment of profit, and the consequent increased difficulty in making a fortune, or obtaining a subsistence by the employment of capital may act as a stimulus to inventions, and to the use of them when made . . . Profits may rise . . . sufficiently to make up for all that is taken from them by the tax. In that case the tax will have been realised without loss to any one.” In this country any compensating effect of taxation in increasing production is extremely doubtful, and is at best so small and occurs in so few cases as not to form an element worth entering into our calculations. Besides, the ryots are reluctant to effect improvements at their own expense, as they fear—and often justly fear—that such improvements will be made the ground of raising the tax at the next revision. If the produce of the soil is increased by any irrigation works constructed by Government, it levies special rates in such cases. It is, therefore, only when there is a rise in the

prices of agricultural produce that the ryots can hope for some relief. In those cases where this rise does not make up for all that is taken from the ryots by the tax, there cannot but be a deterioration in their standard of living.

It is argued by some Indian writers that the real incidence of a land tax, when thus imposed on agricultural produce, is similar to that of a tax on any other commodity. It should eventually fall on the consumer, for it increases the cost of production, and in that respect has the same effect as when the cost of production is increased by natural causes. The effective demand for agricultural produce must be satisfied. The consumer must, therefore, pay a price adequate to cover the cost of production. The price thus paid is sufficient to cover the expense of cultivating whatever extent of land it may be necessary to cultivate in order to meet that demand. The prices of some of the most essential food-grains have risen in this country by about 60 per cent. during the last twenty years. And it is asked whether it is possible that the Government can go on raising the assessments and cesses by leaps and bounds and yet the prices of agricultural produce will remain unaltered! But the Government contends that because prices have risen, therefore it has had to enhance the assessments. The truth seems to be that the two act and re-act on each other. Professor J. Shield Nicholson, of Edinburgh University, says: "A land tax imposed by Government may take the form of a monopoly rent, and as such enter into cost price." There is a complaint that the increased assessments are, in some cases, more in the nature of a "monopoly rent" than "economic rent." In this country, land can be worked as a practical monopoly in the hands of the Government which has the power of enhancing the assessments at its will on account of the collapse of non-agricultural industries. The question whether the increase of taxation falls upon the producer or the consumer is not of any great importance, since 80 per cent. of the population are agriculturists, and much of what they produce is consumed by themselves—who hold land in small properties. But the question vitally affects the lower middle classes, and the labouring classes whose incomes have not risen in proportion to the increase in the prices of provisions. Lord Curzon thinks that "prices may rise from an increase of demand over supply, that is, by the increase in the number of those

to be fed, or in the standard of living." But it is obvious that the high prices now prevailing cannot be ascribed to any increase in the standard of living. Decreased production may have something to do with the present high prices. But the prices of commodities, which are the subjects of international exchange, depend upon the prices ruling in other countries. They will continue to rise until prices here reach a level of equality with, and, from the point of view of international trade, adjust themselves to, the prices ruling in other countries.

In Madras the revenue system is governed by the Standing Orders and the Settlement Manual, and they are altered and amended from time to time at the pleasure of Government. No opportunity is afforded for external criticism. The opinion of the Government or of the Board one year is at variance with the views expressed by the same authorities another year. Though the Secretary of State approved of the principle of the permanent system of settlement (as distinguished from a system of permanent settlement) in his Despatches of 22nd March 1883 and 8th January 1885, and though distinct pledges were given to the people that the said system would be adhered to in the revision settlements in the Madras Presidency, Lord Curzon now questions the soundness of that principle. That system is based on an attempt to reconcile the claims of the State to share in the "unearned increment" in the value of property accruing from natural causes with the necessity for seeing that the interference with, and consequent depreciation of, landed property, which the ascertainment of the Government share must entail, is not carried to such an extent as to discourage the investment of capital in effecting improvements on land. In Bombay there is a legislative enactment protecting the ryot's improvements from taxation by a permanent recognition of a land classification once fairly effected. The Madras Agricultural Committee of 1888-89 put it on record that a re-valuation of soils at each recurring revision would be fatal to improvement, and recommended that legislation might be undertaken to define the status of the ryot. But when I suggested legislation for Madras on lines similar to those of the Bombay Act, the Government said that it "has no intention of moving the Legislature to enact similar provisions in Madras."

There are, also, no independent tribunals to which the ryots can

appeal against over-assessment. The Deputy Commissioner of Revenue Settlement, who fixes the assessment, has also the power to hear objections to the rates fixed by him, and an appeal lies to the Commissioner from any decision or order passed by a Deputy Commissioner. In view of the inconvenience or want of full confidence in the assessment of land-tax caused by this system, I suggested that Collectors of districts might be empowered to hear the objections now heard by the Deputy Commissioners, but even this modest proposal did not commend itself to the Government.

According to Adam Smith, the two most fundamental principles of a good system of taxation are *equity and certainty*. Certainty is the most essential and necessary condition, without which all attempts at equality prove illusory. With an uncertain tax, no systematic improvement can be hoped for. A tax which meets the requirements of certainty tends to become more equitable as time goes on. And Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., rightly says: "Not to define clearly and intelligibly the grounds on which the State is entitled to an increase of revenue from lands, is the most efficacious method that human ingenuity could devise for keeping the cultivators eternally in the gloom of uncertainty and the slough of despond." The greatest promoter of industry is security, and protection from arbitrary taxation is but one form of that "protection against the Government" on which Mill justly insists as more important even than "protection by the Government." There is no question which more deeply and directly affects the welfare and progress of the people, and therefore, no question where it can be more necessary that the policy and procedure of the Government should be carried out on sound and intelligible principles. And to a true statesman like Lord Curzon, anxious to promote to the highest extent the welfare of the people committed to his charge, what object can be nobler or higher, and what task worthier of his best efforts, than to remove the obstacles that now stand in the way of the ryot's advancement?

GANJAM VENCATARATNAM.

HOW TO COMMENCE AN EASTERN NAVY.

THE proposal that I put forward in the *Contemporary Review*, last October, for the formation of an Eastern Navy having met with very general expressions of approval in India and at home, as likely to provide both an addition to our naval power in the East and a possible naval reserve generally, I am induced to follow up the subject with a definite proposal for making a beginning. At the least it may help to carry the idea one stage nearer to its practical and, let me add, natural realisation. The inducement to sketch and advocate this plan is rendered the greater by Lord George Hamilton's cautious reply to the question asked by Sir Mancherjee Bhownagjee in the House of Commons to the effect that there were "practical difficulties" about organising the lascars into a reserve force which, until he saw his way to overcoming them, would prevent his advising the Viceroy to take up the project. As every one knows, there are "practical difficulties" at the commencement of all experiments or new undertakings, but I do not see why they should be much greater in the case of an Eastern Navy than they proved in the organisation of the Imperial Service Force which, after many years of unprofitable talk about practical difficulties by Anglo-Indian officials, was galvanised into life by the Nizam's offer in 1887. The proposal which is now put forward does not require the Secretary of State or the Viceroy to grapple with the difficulties apprehended by Lord George Hamilton, but simply to express a benevolent approval when the initiative has been taken, as I believe it will be taken, by some of the leading Princes of India for the endowment and inauguration of what, in the fulness of time, will become an Eastern Navy.

The subject of an Eastern Navy cannot be looked upon exclusively from the British point of view. India and her people have a clear and direct interest in the matter. They should not be content with merely claiming to have a voice in the decision of the question,

because they have an unquestionable right to protest if it is neglected or shelved through indifference, pre-occupation, or even timidity. What they have, indeed, first to show of their own accord, and before they can complain of receiving no attention, is that they are interested in the subject and ready to bear their share in the cost and effort required to place it in the way of settlement. They have to display intelligent concern in Imperial questions and a lively sense of the duties and responsibilities of a political co-partnership that were not dreamt of at the Native Courts even a few months ago, and among such questions there is not one of the same gravity as the preservation of the naval power and superiority of Great Britain, for on that depends, in the last resort, not merely the security of India but her prosperity and her chances of greater future prosperity, based on the growth of industry and a world-wide trade. Therefore, it behoves the Princes of India to speak out, and with no uncertain sound. They have the ambition to fill a more prominent and a more clearly defined place in the governing and legislative system of the British Empire. They have now an exceptional opportunity of showing that they are anxious to merit the elevation they seek by proposing of their own free will, and by providing from their own resources the means, to do a little bit of practical work in the department of creative statesmanship which the caution, or the momentary, and surely passing, sense of difficulty at the India Office has left them the rare opening to achieve.

The scheme, then, that I submit to the ruling Princes of India is that they should offer to the Viceroy, and through him to their Imperial Suzerain the King, and Emperor of India, to raise a fund of half a million sterling for the purchase of a second-class cruiser, to be named, let us assume, the *Kaisar-i-Hind*, which should serve as the training ship for Indian naval officers and blue-jackets, and as the nucleus of an Eastern Navy. I would exempt from even the moral obligation to contribute to that fund the Chiefs of Kashmir and the Punjab, because they directly and indirectly are liable in a larger sense than others for the military defence of India; but it is a fund that ought to receive the sufficient support of the Princes of Southern, Western and Central India. As the ship would take two years to build, the subscriptions to the fund should be payable in two annual instalments.

The only conditions that the donors should make are that the ship is to serve only in Indian waters or in the seas of the Far East, that the crew is to be mainly Indian, and that each donor is to have the right of nominating one or more cadets to be trained as naval officers. For the sake of definiteness, it may be suggested that every ten thousand pounds should carry with it one nomination.

In this way a movement could be set in train by those who, after all, are most largely interested in the results of the experiment, to discover whether an Eastern Navy can be made a practical success or not. The Supreme Government, too anxious about other matters to give the subject full consideration, or reasonably reluctant to assign any part of India's revenue to fresh and necessarily experimental outlays, can have no objection to the proposal being subjected to a fair trial, if the Princes of India are willing to provide the means for it out of their surpluses, their savings, or their economies. The Admiralty would, no doubt, gladly furnish the officers and the training staff, a selected corps from the lascars of the Merchant service of India would form the nucleus of the crew, and the cadets nominated and carefully selected by the donors would be the cadre of India's naval service. The experiment, from every point of view, would be interesting. If it failed, not much harm would be done; if it succeeded, we should secure an invaluable auxiliary service in the Eastern Seas. There is really no reason why it should fail, unless the authorities in India, piqued at the initiative being taken out of their hands, should throw cold water on the project with an official veto.

Having formulated the idea, there is really nothing more to be said. It is for the constituency appealed to, and directly interested in the successful accomplishment of the scheme, viz., the Princes of India—for their capacity is involved in its success as well as their claim to a position of equality in the Empire—to make what seems to it the suitable and wisest reply. There can, however, be no doubt that, if they rise to the occasion, they will elicit a response of enthusiastic appreciation throughout the British Empire, and finally break down the barriers of prejudice and popular misconceptions which are the real obstacles in the path of cordial relationship.

So far for India; but there is no reason for restricting the experiment to that country. An Eastern Navy was not to be exclu-

sively, although it ought to be mainly, an Indian Fleet. There should certainly be in it a Malay squadron. The Princes of the Malay Peninsula, and the wealthy Chinese merchants who have accumulated their riches under our protection at Singapore, Penang and Perak, might be moved by India's example to start a similar movement and to provide a training ship for the Malay and Chinese races in the Straits Settlements. This would be on a smaller scale than the organisation in India, and in proportion to their comparative resources. But it would aim none the less, in testing and developing the capacity of the Malays to serve on war-ships, at forming a reserve force at Singapore, which would materially increase our naval strength in the Far East in the future. Finally, I would not prohibit or reject a similar voluntary movement among the Chinese native merchants of Shanghai, Hongkong and other parts of China, if they were to offer to purchase a man-of-war and make it a training ship for Chinese sailors under the British flag. If the authorities gave the least encouragement, the Chinese merchants of Singapore and the Straits Settlements would speedily start the necessary movement, and it would soon be supported in China itself.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

REFORM IN THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

THE December number of *East & West* contains two articles * of an extremely suggestive nature, both advocating reforms in Indian administration, which I have long considered necessary, and endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to further. I therefore need scarcely apologise for making a few remarks on the subject, especially as it will surely add to the usefulness of *East & West*, if that journal can become, so to speak, self-propagating. I mean that its articles should have a tendency to produce other articles, written in criticism of, or comment on, them. In this way alone can interest in the various subjects discussed be kept up.

General Thornton says that, "changes must be introduced very gradually"; but I do not think he need have any apprehension as to undue haste; the danger almost seems to lie the other way. A semi-despotic Government is certainly liable to the mistake of over-estimating the value of any reform which it contemplates, and the urgency of the call for its introduction. But when the reforms under contemplation affect its own constitution, when, to borrow a metaphor from the healing art, it has to admit organic disease, and consent to amputation, too great eagerness in the process is not greatly to be dreaded.

It is significant that the two writers, whose articles have been instanced, belong to branches of the service, which are not directly concerned with the administration. The officials of the executive are persistently silent on this great question of reform. When they do speak, their utterances are, rightly or wrongly, put down to disappointment at the failure of their own careers. Add to this the

* I. "The British System of Government in India", By Colonel Dowden, R.E.

II. "Is our Government of India Satisfactory?" By General Thornton, C.B.

terrible apathy of the people of Great Britain in reference to Indian affairs, and it is easy to see that there is likely to be plenty of time for deliberation as to the merits of any scheme which may be put forward, before it is introduced. What we may lack is a sufficient number of experienced individuals to devote patient consideration and thought to the subject, and then come forward to speak or write, and propose practical measures of improvement. Those who have experience for the most part will not come forward, and those who come forward lack the necessary experience.

Colonel Dowden's article is principally concerned with the revival of Indian village communal Government, if such an institution ever existed, and to this all-important subject, in which, I consider, lies the solution of almost all our difficulties, I shall return later on. I regard the historical part of this question as unimportant, because if these institutions did not exist, they could easily be created.

General Thornton does not instance this measure as a necessary reform, but in saying that the British administrator should avail himself more of the advice, opinions and co-operation of his native fellow-subjects, he practically ranges himself on the same side. He speaks in favourable terms of the "Forward Policy," but of this I shall have something to say later, on the opposite side. He instances as specific defects in our administration the following :—

I. The refusal or neglect of the Imperial Government to provide a portion of the cost of the Indian army.

II. The general expensiveness of the administration.

III. The tendency to disregard the wishes and feelings of the people, in attempts to benefit them.

IV. The plunder and oppression of the people under forms of law.

V. The want of a proper representation of India in the Imperial Parliament.

Before examining these various matters a little in detail, I should like to unburden myself on the "Forward Policy." Under existing circumstances I am willing to admit that this policy was necessary, but how about the "existing circumstances"? I mean that the necessity of preventing the near proximity of Russia arises solely from the want of attachment to our rule on the part of the people. If we rested our Government, as we might rest it, I fully believe, on the

broad basis of popular contentment, we might snap our fingers at any neighbour. I do not say that collateral benefits may not have been conferred on some of the peoples concerned, by the "Forward Policy," but I do say that it is unworthy of a great Government to fear the approach of such a neighbour as Russia which, if we only would acknowledge it, has done as much good to Asia as we have ourselves. Many thinking men in India condemn our Afghan policy. It is the same, in their opinion, as began the downfall of the Roman Empire.

A Sandeman could perhaps carry out such a policy without risk, but in other and less able hands, there is a very great risk of loss of prestige. I have a still further objection to this policy, and that is, that it ends in the attention of Government being so much taken up with matters outside India, that the much more important subject of internal affairs is neglected.

Let us now see if we could not, by some of the reforms suggested, so strengthen our hold on the affections of the Indian people, as to be able to dispense with these "policies" altogether. Would it not be a much more manly attitude and one more worthy of a truly Imperial Government to sit tight on our own borders, and bid defiance to all who sought to cross them with hostile intent?

First, as to the question of an Imperial contribution to the cost of the Indian army. A very small contribution would probably satisfy India, and create in the minds of the leaders of her political thought the conviction that we really desired to be "true and just in all our dealings" with her. The army would be kept in a still greater state of efficiency than at present, and would be always available for service in any part of the world, without any one having the right to protest or object.

Secondly, as to a cheaper administration. Slowly has the idea that our administration is too costly for the country, begun to dawn upon observers of the political situation. The idea is certain to grow in intensity, and to command a greater amount of attention, as time goes on. The question bristles with difficulties; we must not be in a hurry, and we must be mindful of the enormous mass of vested interests which have grown up to complicate the situation. But sooner or later the question will have to be faced. I believe that substantially the same remarks apply here as I had occasion to make in reference

to Police Reform in an article on that subject in February last. No tinkering of the present system will do much good. What is wanted is total remodelling and reconstruction. The subject is far too large a one for incidental treatment, but I might remark, in passing, that nothing would be so likely to ensure the lasting loyalty of the Indian people as a change of system based solely on regard for their pockets. If they saw us willingly sacrificing some of that splendid edifice of administrative efficiency which has gained us such credit all over the world, for their sake, they would reciprocate with a gratitude and attachment to our rule, which would go far towards bringing about that desirable result which we have glanced at. Our Empire, based upon the universal contentment of the Indian people, would need no Frontier Policy or other artificial prop for its security.

Thirdly, a greater regard than we show at present for the wishes and feelings of the people, would be another means towards the great end—the rebuilding of the foundations of our Empire on the broad basis of popular content. This is a matter which may not be so easy as it appears at first sight. The great lesson of “the other side of the shield,” the ability to look at things from points of view other than our own, though perhaps more important than any other, is yet the most difficult of any portion of the training and discipline of life. This is a power which has to be acquired by most persons after a long course of painful and laborious training. But the need is one which all but those absolutely blinded by prejudice can see, and it can be supplied by those in power only. In this matter, however, as in nearly all others, the more discussion we have the better.

Fourthly, the plunder and oppression of the people under legal forms is an evil which can, I think, be remedied only by radical changes in our system of Government. We want an administration of a much simpler kind, we want to undo an enormous amount of work already done, before these drawbacks can be removed. And here again, so as to guard against mistakes and prevent undue haste, we want an immense amount of deliberation and discussion. We want to take the people thoroughly into our confidence, hear all that can be said by those who do think, and teach those to think, who have not yet begun to do so. Every item of proposed change wants thorough discussion by the officials on one side, and the people on the other, with the British Public as judge. The officials will want to interfere

too much, and the people to be too "severely let alone." The difficulty will be to seize the golden mean between these two schemes.

It is in the Courts of law that this "legal plunder and oppression" takes place in the most glaring manner. There are not a few thinkers on Indian subjects, who consider that the whole machinery of European jurisprudence, with its attendant myrmidons in Stamp and Registration Law, and the like, is utterly unsuitable for India. The pure justice which is to be found within the Courts, and which the people value so highly, is often obscured, and kept away from those who need it most, by the atmosphere of complicated procedure and manufactured evidence hanging over them. Simple laws, codified wherever possible, a simple and a more final system of justice is loudly called for. In some outlying portions of the Turkish Empire a rude system of justice prevails which gives the very best results. It is the fashion for the local "gentleman," whenever a case occurring in his neighbourhood is being tried, to walk into the Court and tell the judge what the facts really are. Everything that happens is known, and it is the fashion to let the authorities know all about it. Unfortunately, the custom is just the reverse in British Courts in India. It is considered the right thing to suppress the facts. I have frequently urged the necessity of some machinery for the more efficient trial of issues of facts than their decision on the basis of paid evidence tendered in British Courts.

Fifthly, the Parliamentary Representation of India is a subject, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. I have long tried to urge this subject upon the attention of well-wishers of India, and am delighted to see that it is now being generally taken up and discussed. I have lately thought that one of the simplest methods of solving this question would be to induce some of the semi-independent Princes to accept a seat in our House of Lords. If they only attended (say) every alternate Session, no great harm could happen to their States. The Government which resides in Simla *every* summer could surely not blame the Chiefs for wishing to take a holiday every second year. They might work out infinite good, not only to their own peoples, but to all India by these periodical absences.

Finally, *the* great reform, the one by which all the other reforms could be worked out and perfected, is that urged by Colonel Dowden,

the resuscitation of the village communal organisation. It almost takes one's breath away to revolve in the mind the enormous advantages which might accrue to India from the revival of this organisation, or its creation where it did not previously exist. I have elsewhere attempted to dilate upon the benefits of this proposal, and I will not go over the old ground. But, for the sake of completeness, I may just enumerate the various items : A soil of self-government thoroughly suited to the country, and one adapted to the purpose of political education, an intermediary between rulers and ruled, and a means of instruction to both as to the views and wishes of the other. A machinery for softening the asperities of our administration in almost all departments, and particularly in those of Land Revenue, Jurisprudence and direct taxation. An organisation for the supply of capital to the agriculturist on easy terms, and for the utilisation and fructification of his savings. A means of spreading the knowledge of agricultural improvements, and stimulating commerce and technical education. A means of controlling the evil-disposed members of the village community, and giving a direct stimulus to morality and orderly life. Also a means of checking the undue consumption of intoxicants. Probably the best solution of the difficult question of Police administration is to be sought in the same way.

Hoping that many contributors to this journal will be induced to treat of this all-important subject, I will now bring this article to a close. But before doing this, I think it may be of service to indicate how the question of election might be simplified. If we got a communal body, representative of the village, and having its orders carried out through the hereditary village servants, we should want to know that no undue influence had been used in election. In some parts of India there might be found some family in which the office of headman had become hereditary, and which was fitted to retain the honour. In the majority of cases the headman, and his rural council, would have to be elected. I think election by acclamation would be the process most suited to India, but a preliminary inquiry would be necessary, as a safeguard against malpractices and to eliminate "pull." In most districts, I believe in all, there is some official either in the Revenue, Judicial, or Police Department, who is thoroughly trusted by the people. He should be put on special duty to make detailed inquiries as to who were

the individuals really denied by each village to represent them : his report should be confidential, and should also contain the names of any individuals likely to be nominated through any kind of "pull," such as being the universal creditor, or in any position likely to lend them undue influence.

Armed with this report the local administrator could proceed to hold his election in each village by acclamation : if he found reason to suspect "pull," he would simply refuse confirmation to the election. At first the parties nominated might be actually unwilling to accept the honour offered to them. It would be our task so to treat the elected ones, that they should learn to "magnify their office," and regard it as their greatest title to distinction among their fellows. The imagination fails to paint the benefit they might confer upon their country.

C. W. WHISH.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BRAHMANISM.

THE first time that Brahmanism received a check in its progress after its establishment in India was from about the beginning of the second century before Christ to about the fourth century after. This was the period when Buddhism was predominant in India, and began to be professed by the majority of the people. The various Buddhist Stupas and Viharas, which exist even now at Delhi, Barhut, and other places, proclaiming the grants of Asoka and other Buddhist kings, bear evidence to this statement. Unfortunately for Brahmanism, this was also the period when no Hindu kings ruled over India. About 400 A. D. the sovereignty of India came into the hands of the powerful Gupta kings who were Hindus, and at once Brahmanism began to revive. And when it thus revived, every effort was made by the Brahmans, especially after their sufferings of six centuries, to establish it in such a way that it might never perish again. It was at this time of the revival that the Brahmans established their religion on a philosophical basis and, where necessary, they recast it in such a manner as to meet the wants of the populace. It was also at the time of this revival that the several commentaries on the Vedas, the Smritis and the Dharma Sastras were written. The Guptas were great conquerors. They established an era of their own in Northern India. The early form of Buddhism was very popular, but as it began to spread, it broke up into a large number of schools, travelled to other countries, and thus slowly disappeared from India under the strong Brahmanic revival.

Thus it was that Brahmanism revived after a struggle of nearly six centuries with Buddhism, and it revived never to perish again. It was at this time of the revival that the caste system was still more rigidly established by the several codes which were compiled. From time immemorial the Brahmans have remained the priests, and, as

priests in every country are considered sacred, they made their caste the most sacred of all the castes.

The caste system, which was first planned out and established at a time when all learning was confined to the Brahmans and the ruling classes, worked, no doubt, very well at the commencement. Even at that period there appears to have now and then occurred between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas some conflict of feeling as to why the latter should not be considered as equal to the former in sanctity. The struggle of Visvamitra to attain Brahmanhood is familiar to every student of Sanskrit literature. The penances and trials which that warrior-sage underwent to convert his position to that of a Brahman sage are most glowingly described in Cantos LV to LXV of the first book of the Ramayana. The several episodes in the Mahabharata relating how Balaki, a learned Brahman priest, was defeated in discussion with Ajatasatru, King of Benares, and how Svetaketu, another learned Brahman priest, was humbled by Jaivali, King of the Panchalas, prove that even in prehistoric times the struggle of the Kshatriya caste, anyhow to assume the position of the Brahmans, had commenced. In struggles between priests and kings, it is generally the latter that always win; and so even in the old days many of the warrior caste at least must have risen to Brahmanhood, without any of those troubles and hardships which Visvamitra is represented to have undergone. Sakuntala, whom Dushyanta married, is after all the favourite adopted daughter of Kanva, a Brahman of Brahmans; but the clever priests have, however, given a beautiful varnish to the tale by making Visvamitra her true father.

Thus the struggle that began in prehistoric times was kept up raging till the Buddhist period, and when Buddhism was started as a popular religion many of the turbulent spirits went over to it. Thus Buddhism was a convenient opening valve in disguise to clear away the rebellious factors of Brahmanism, and though no doubt the latter struggled hard for its existence for six centuries, from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., it came out at last as victor and on its revival was firmly established. And under patronising kings of the North and the South it held its firm ground. The Muhammadan rulers, notwithstanding their sworn enmity to the Brahmans on the point of religion, and notwithstanding the havoc they inflicted on their temples and religious institutions, were not able to shake the Brah-

man faith. And after them the British rulers, by declaring their neutrality in matters religious, left the Hindus to worship in their own way. The labours of European and German *savants* and the admiration of Sanskrit works by great scholars like Max Müller and Schopenhauer opened the eyes of the whole world to the fact that there was much to be learnt from the Hindu religion and philosophy. That great German scholar Schopenhauer, in writing about the Upanishads, said: "From every sentence, deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us and original thoughts of kindred spirits. . . . It has been the solace of my life ; it will be the solace of my death." Sankara's exposition of the Upanishads, his advaita teachings, his Vedanta Sutras and his Bhagavadgita have excited the admiration of all the best European, American and German scholars. And, lastly, the mission of Swami Vivekananda, that giant of the Sankara school, in Europe and America, was an attempt to spread Hinduism throughout the length and breadth of the world.

Now, what do all these influences mean ? Do they not indicate that the Brahman can no longer keep his sacred books as a secret buried in his own country? Any German or American, who is a lover of India, may call himself a Brahman. Any Theosophist, be he of whatever religion, may put on the holy thread, wear *rudraksha* beads, perform *pūja* to Sankara and call himself a Brahman. Whether the orthodox Brahman acknowledges him to be so or not is a question which does not affect him. He is a Brahman in his heart, he says, and that is enough for his satisfaction.

In addition to all these the tendency of the non-Brahman castes to elevate their social position is a most prominent change that has been successfully growing in the last decade of the last century in Southern India. The Komatis, who are the richest class of money-dealers in the Madras Presidency, began it under the leadership of the late Mr. A. Lakshminarasimham Somayaz, B.A., B.L. This gentleman received the benefit of English education and was also a good Sanskrit scholar. He began to argue as to why the Komatis should not study the Vedas and perform *yagas*, sacrifices, like the Brahmins. He not only argued but also put his statements into action, and himself a great student of the sacred literature, he performed a *yaga*. Wherever he went, he went on preaching that there was no

prohibition for his class of men reciting the Vedas and performing all the religious rites allowed to the Brahmans. He has many adherents, and has most successfully worked out his mission with sincere love and devotion very rare to be met with.

The Pattunulkars, or silk-weavers of Madura and Kumbakonam, then followed. They call themselves Saurashtra Brahmans, *i.e.*, the Brahmans who came down to the South from the country of Saurashtra—the classic name of Gujerat. They go on now assuming the titles of Ayyas, Acharyas and Bhagavatas, and resent it very much if they are designated as Pattunulkars.

Then followed the Nadans. They take much offence if they are pointed out as a polluted caste. The root-meaning of the Tamil word "Nadan" is one who cannot approach (another of the sacred caste). This old designation has been altered to Nattan (a double *tt* in the place of a *d*), meaning, in their imagination, Kshatriyas. Whether other caste people accept them as belonging to the warrior-caste or not, they do not much care. By a wonderful convention they call themselves Kshatriyas. When one polluted caste called itself a warrior-caste, some of the barbers in the Southern districts began to call themselves also Kshatriyas, and gave to the word *ambattan* (Tamil—barber), the meaning of one fit to govern the country, from *pattan*—one fit to govern. But this rise was soon checked, as the barber caste was neither influential, wealthy nor learned.

Another low caste has elevated its position, notwithstanding its backwardness in wealth and intelligence. These are the neat-herds, commonly called Idaiyans. As the favourite Hindu deity Krishna was a neat-herd in his younger days, the caste of cowherds in Southern India now call themselves Yadavas, the family to which Sri Krishna belonged.

The Sembadavans (fishermen) of Southern India are now changing their name to Siva-bhatas—the servants of Siva. The potters (Kusavas) in the North Arcot district resent it very much if they are called potters, and call themselves Mannudaiyars—the possessors of the earth, *i.e.*, Kshatriyas. The Asaris—artizans—write down their title as Acharyas and claim to be superior to Brahmans. These changes which go on now, and which are due to the advancement of learning and the right ambition of people to elevate their social position, may not be viewed with favour by the Brahmans. But as long

as that caste does not lose anything, why should they grumble ? The orthodox Brahman will never intermarry with the modern Saurashtra Brahman : nor will a genuine Rajput take a girl from the Nattan family. So, as long as the classes are not affected, the educated among them smile when they hear that a Komati gentleman performed a *yaga*. Under the benign British rule every one is free, and as long as that Government is neutral in matters religious, Brahmanism must maintain the vigour which it received under the Guptas of the fourth century A. D.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN GUJARAT.

THE MATAR TALUKA.

(Continued from our last issue.)

31. Mr. Fernandez then proceeds to rely on the circumstance of the increase in the wages as shewing that the economic condition of the taluka has improved. He says that at the time of the introduction of the original survey the daily wages of an adult labourer were one anna in cash and two meals per diem, but the same now are 3 annas and two meals. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 9.) But Mr. Cooke, the Collector, does not accept the statement of wages having risen to the extent mentioned by Mr. Fernandez. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 75.) The value of this argument is diminished by Mr. Fernandez's own admission a little further on. He says that during the wheat harvest many of the Koli cultivators proceed with their families to the Bara or the coast villages of Cambay for work, and that the wages obtaining in the taluka are much higher than those in Cambay. If there is demand for labour on higher wages in the taluka, why should the labourer go to the Bara villages in search of work on much lower wages? Again, if there be any increase of wages, it is not the result of a larger demand of labour and increased occupation to the agriculturist. It is the result of his demoralised condition, which induces him to shun and avoid work, referred to in para. 20 above. The increased wages in the case of this taluka are not at all a matter for congratulation, but otherwise.

32. Then Mr. Fernandez refers to prices as an indication of prosperity. But the prices for the decade in which the settlement took place were much lower than those of the previous two decades. If it were not for the high prices during the first two decades of the survey term of the taluka, the break-down would have in all probability been brought on much earlier. The high prices to some extent helped to maintain the ryots against other forces that were working to their detriment. Thus, judging from the standpoint of prices, the ryots were much worse off at the close of the settlement than they were at its beginning ;

but Mr. Fernandez tries to bring in the prices prevailing in the decade that preceded the settlement for shewing that there was progress during the term of the settlement. The survey settlement was not made on the basis of prices that ruled before 1856. It was the rise in prices since 1856 that increased a demand for agricultural lands. The low prices that prevailed before 1856 did not make it worth while for people to take up some of the poorer lands. A comparison of prices of the best decade with the prices of the decade preceding the introduction of the survey would, under these circumstances, be no evidence for showing that the survey rates were felt to be moderate.

33. Then Mr. Fernandez dwells on the ease with which the revenue was collected during the three years preceding his report. The number of notices were 2,353 for 1889-90, 2,387 for 1890-91, and 1,485 for 1891-92. To me these figures do not at all appear satisfactory. The distraint cases recorded were 4, 5 and 10 during these three years. They must, however, have been more numerous. Their number is low because there used to be no reliable record kept of them, as was found in the enquiry made by Mr. Maconochie.

34. Under the erroneous view of the progress made during the term of the original survey, coupled with an optimistic calculation of the further progress, which the taluka was expected to make in consequence of the impetus given to the growth of tobacco by the opening of the Godhra Rutlam Railway, Mr. Fernandez recommended in his report an increase of rates in the following manner :—

(a) After the redistribution of the villages in 1867 there was only one village left belonging to the first class in Captain Prescott's grouping, namely, the town of Matar. According to Colonel Prescott's settlement the maximum rate for this group was Rs. 4-12 per acre.

The villages of Alindra, Lahal, Maliataj and Undhela, in which there was an increase of 50 per cent. at the original survey and in which the maximum rate was under the orders of the Commissioner kept at Rs. 3-8, and Antrali, in which, under similar circumstances, the maximum rate under the Commissioner's order was kept at Rs. 4, together with 10 other villages which were included in the second class in the grouping of Col. Prescott, were all raised to the first class with the increased rates of Rs. 5-8 and Rs. 5. In addition to this, subsoil rates were applied and the increase that Mr. Fernandez recommended in respect of these villages came to 39 per cent.

(b) Mr. Fernandez's maximum rates for villages grouped under his second class were Rs. 4-8 and Rs. 4. His grouping under this class

included the villages of Khandli and Sinjivada, in which there was an increase of 50 per cent. at the original survey, and for which the maximum rate fixed under the order of the Commissioner N. D. was Rs. 3-8 (Government Selections, ccci., pp. 11, 22, 23), and the village of Maduj, in respect of which the maximum rate fixed under similar circumstances was Rs. 4 (Government Selections, ccci., pp. 11, 22, 23), together with the villages which originally belonged to the Jetalpur and Dholka Talukas of the Ahmedabad Collectorates, which were transferred to the Matar Taluka at the redistribution of 1867, and in which the maximum rates were from Rs. 1-12 to Rs. 2-8. (Government Selections ccci., p. 7.) The rates proposed by Mr. Fernandez for the villages of this group, together with increases caused by the application of the subsoil water rates and the assimilation of the rice water rates, raised the assessment on them by $36\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 13.)

(c) The last of Mr. Fernandez's groups was No. III, and the maximum rate proposed for it was Rs. 4. This group included the villages of Punaj and Dethle in which assessment had been enhanced 50 per cent. at the original survey, and for which, under the Commissioner's order, the maximum rate fixed was Rs. 3-8. (Government Selections, ccci., pp. 11, 22, 23.) On this group enhancement, including the increase owing to the application of the subsoil water rate and the assimilation of rice water rates, came to $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

(d) Mr. Fernandez proposed a water rate of Rs. 3 per acre for villages of the 1st and 2nd groups, and of Rs. 3-8 for villages of the third group; this meant an increase of Re. 1 in rice maximum rate. (Government Selections, ccci., p. 81.) The reason assigned for such a high water rate for the poor villages of the third group is that, being low-lying and water-logged, shortness of rain did them less harm than to the other villages. Mr. Fernandez did not take into account the risk of these villages when there was average or excessive rainfall.

35. The result of enhancements proposed by Mr. Fernandez was to increase the assessment generally of the whole taluka by $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

36. Mr. Fernandez assigns the following reasons for justifying the enhancements proposed by him:—

(1) That Captain Prescott, when he made his report of the original survey, said that the taluka was well able to pay an assessment heavier by 40 or 50 per cent. than that at which it had been then assessed.

(2) That the prices were higher than those that prevailed immediately before the introduction of the survey.

(3) That Government had during the term of the lease spent much money in constructing first class roads and in considerably improving the Khari irrigation channels.

With reference to the first of these reasons, Mr. Ozanne, the Survey Commissioner, has characterised Captain Prescott's statement as wild, and Captain Prescott himself subsequently felt doubtful about the correctness of his views, and the revenue history of the taluka was not such as to justify such optimism. As regards prices, they were at the time of Mr. Fernandez's recommendation lower than those which made the original survey assessment bearable ; and, as regards the expenditure on the construction of roads, it has not appreciably increased the profits of the agriculturists ; and so far as irrigation works are concerned all places that had the benefit of them have been specially charged, and a large area has suffered in consequence of the stoppage of the natural flow of water by irrigation dams, and had, notwithstanding, to continue paying the higher assessment.

37. In forwarding Mr. Fernandez's report to the Commissioner, Mr. Cooke, the Collector of Kaira, who had eight years' experience of the District, after describing the character and habits of the agricultural population of the Taluka, speaks as follows about the settlement proposed:—"My mind, therefore, misgave me whether if largely enhanced rates are imposed on a population of this character, the burden will not prove too much for them and tend to throw land out of cultivation and drive them back to their former lawless habits." He, however, did not oppose Mr. Fernandez's proposals because he believed that the majority of the Dharula cultivators had already lost their lands and that they were cultivating them not on their own behalf but on behalf of sowkars. Mr. Cooke further says—

"Again, Mr. Fernandez's description of the climate contained in para. 26 of his report is accurate, and this consideration affects not only the thriftless Dharulas, but the careful Kunbi cultivators and sowkars also. Again, therefore, my mind misgave me whether it is good policy to add so largely to the burden of lives dragged out under such unhealthy circumstances . . . Every year the greater portion of the Matar Taluka is fever-stricken for from two to three months."

38. In the case of Rasikpur, which had been transferred from the Dholka taluka and in which the assessment had been run up 125 per cent., the Collector proposed that it should be transferred from the second to the third class group, and that the maximum rate in it should be Rs. 3 ; with reference to Garmula, the soil of which had become largely

impregnated with salts, but in which the maximum rate was proposed to be raised from Rs. 4-8 to Rs. 5-8, to make an increase of $54\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Collector recommended that it should be transferred from class I to class II. With these objections the Collector supported Mr. Fernandez's proposals.

39. The Revision Survey report, with the Collector's covering letter, was submitted to the Survey Commissioner and Director of Land Records and Agriculture, and that officer submitted the same to Government with his letter of 1st April, 1893.

With reference to the recommendations of Mr. Fernandez, the Commissioner makes the following remarks:—

"I share with the Collector much anxiety as to the complete justification of the Deputy Superintendent's proposal." (G. S. ccci. p. 79.)

40. The following is what the Survey Commissioner says with reference to the condition of the Taluka and its agricultural population:—

"The general condition of the Taluka is not good, and its revenue history is unfavourable. The climate is malarious; the Koli Dhoralas are notoriously lazy, unthrifty and unskilful, the people are addicted to opium eating, and that in its worst form, raw-opium eating; the amount of indebtedness is startling, and salt efflorescences are on the increase in the Bhal villages, while these as well as some Charaton villages suffer periodically great losses from surface floods."

41. The Survey Commissioner characterised the statement of Captain Prescott, that he would have been justified in raising the Matar assessment by 40 or 50 per cent., as wild; with reference to Rasikpur, he proposed that it should be kept in the second class, but the maximum rate for it should be Rs. 3-8; he proposed that Garmula should be transferred to group II. He accepted the dry crop rate of Mr. Fernandez. With reference to the rice water rates he proposed Rs. 3 for groups one and two, and for group three he proposed the rate of Rs. 3-4, and for Lunhori the rice water rate was to be Rs. 3-8; and with reference to lands irrigated through dhekudis he proposed the substitution of the *bag* rate for the dhekudiat rate.

42. The Commissioner, Northern Division, agreed with the Commissioner of Surveys and Settlement on all questions except the substitution of *bag* rate for the dhekudiat rate. He proposed that the dhekudiat rate should be retained.

43. When the papers went before Government, they considered that in the case of this Taluka the grounds for increase were not as

strong as in other Talukas, where 33 per cent. increase was proposed, and that the percentage of increase in Matar also was much larger than in the others. They felt that the reports and statistics did not shew any advance during the term of the settlement then about to expire. The chief ground suggested for the increase was the opening of the Godhra Ratlam Railway, but it appeared doubtful to them whether the advantages gained by the railway were such as to justify the increase to the extent proposed. They expressed their opinion that in group I, the rates should be reduced in such proportions as would limit the increase to 20 per cent.; with reference to group II their opinion was that the proposed rates should stand, and with reference to group III that the increase should be limited to 10 per cent. by the reduction of the rice water rate, or that of the dry crop rate or both. With remarks to the effect as above stated, the Under-Secretary to Government returned the papers to the Survey Commissioner for further opinion.

44. The Survey Commissioner revised the rates and prepared a revised statement in which the dry crop rate and the rice water rate respectively for group I were Rs. 5 and Rs. 3; for group II, Rs. 4 and 3 respectively; for group III, Rs. 3-12 and Rs. 3 respectively. The result of this modification was to reduce the enhancement in group I from $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 29 per cent., in group II from $32\frac{3}{4}$ to 27 per cent., group III from 20 to 12 per cent., and on the Taluka from $29\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 23 per cent.

45. Government finally accepted the revised proposals of the Survey Commissioner with reference to groups I and III, but raised the dry crop rate of group II from Rs. 4 to Rs. 4-8. In connection with the question of the dhekudiat assessment, they asked the Survey Commissioner to calculate the sub-soil water assessment at the rates sanctioned for lands shewn as subject to dhekudiat assessment, adding the amount to the dry crop assessment and deducting it from the dhekudiat figures. The result of the calculations was that by a substitution of the sub-soil rate for the dhekudiat rate Government merely suffered a loss of Rs. 582 per annum, and Government thereupon directed that they should forego the difference.

46. Though the increases sanctioned by Government were far less than recommended by their officers, they were very large. Out of 15 villages of the 1st group, in one the increase was over 50 per cent., in two over 40 per cent., in four over 30 per cent., in four over 20 per cent., in three over 10 per cent. and in one case only under ten per cent. In the second group out of 35 villages the increase in one case was 99 per cent., in one $79\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., in two villages over 60 per cent., in one

over 50 per cent., in five over 40 per cent., in four over 30 per cent., in four over 20 per cent., in five over 10 per cent., in 11 under 10 per cent., and in one case only there was a decrease of only $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. In the third group, out of 23 villages in one there was an increase of $59\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., in two there was an increase of $20\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., in nine there were increases between 10 and 20 per cent., in four there were increases under 10 per cent., and in five there was a decrease ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The larger number of the heavy increases fell on some of the poorest villages.

47. The sequel will show what has been the effect of these increases.

48. The revision survey rates, were applied to the Taluka from the year 1894-5. At the end of the year 1895-6, the total arrears of Government Revenue for the Kaira District were Rs. 264-4. (Jamabandi Report, p. 267.) Of these Rs. 212-6 related to the village of Nacka in this Taluka and Rs. 51-14 to the village of Danali in the Nadiad Taluka. (Jamabandi Report, p. 10.) In the year 1896-7, the arrears were (Jamabandi Report, p. 26) Rs. 336-1, out of which Rs. 109-7-1 were recovered after 1st August, 1897, Rs. 148-7-2 were written off in respect of this Taluka, and the remaining balance of Rs. 78-3 remained for recovery in the following year. (Jamabandi Report, p. 10.) At the end of the year 1897-8, the recoverable balance for the Kaira District was Rs. 3,769-10-10; out of this Rs. 213-12 were recovered since. Out of the remainder, Rs. 3,555-14-1, Matar alone was responsible for Rs. 3,402-4-7, while only Rs. 159-9-6 were distributed between all the other places of the District (Jamabandi Report, p. 10). It is stated in the Jamabandi Report of the year: "*Steps are in progress for the recovery of the arrears.*" (ibid. p. 10). At the end of the year 1898-9 the recoverable balance of the Kaira District was Rs. 1,969-8-2; out of this Rs. 245-15-11 were since recovered and Rs. 500-2-6 written off. Out of the remaining sum Rs. 23-10-9 were for the Mehmudabad Taluka and the remaining Rs. 1,199-11-6 were for the Matar Taluka. (Jamabandi Report p. 10.) The following are the remarks of the Commissioner, Northern Division, in his Jamabandi Report for the year, with reference to the collections of the Matar Taluka:

"It is satisfactory to note that in the latter taluka, the current year's revenue, as well as a greater portion of the amount remaining unpaid at the end of 1897-8, was recovered, leaving the balance of Rs. 1,199-11-6 as stated above."

49. The following incidents throw a side-light on the means

whereby the above satisfactory condition of things was brought about.

50. In the *Kheda Vartman* paper of 20th July, 1898, the following appeared as an account of the practices which had become necessary for the purpose of recovering the Government revenue :—

“About 7 or 8 days ago at the Chora of Wadala taluka, Mahon, the general duty Karkun of Matar, collected the defaulters of the villages of Wadala, Damri and Shetra, and used harsh measures for recovering revenue from them ; this was done to such an extent that outside their houses, in open space, while it was raining, they were made to stand stooping and holding the toes of their feet with the fingers of their hands, and pieces of wood were placed over their waists ; notices were stuck on both the doors of their houses, and they were told that no one was to open his house until his arrears were paid. In connection with these harsh measures some of the starving cultivators of Damri presented a petition to the Deputy Collector that they had no objection to Government recovering their dues in the lawful way, but he should relieve them from harshness that had been practised as above described. They and particularly the villagers of Damri were on the point of leaving their villages ; meanwhile the Saheb Bahadur kept his camp at Dadhal at the Holi time, persuaded them and bade them take courage, stopped the work of recovering arrears, and advised them to maintain themselves by hiring out their services.”

51. On the above account appearing in the newspaper, the general duty Karkun was directed to institute proceedings for defamation against the editor, and accordingly a complaint in the matter was lodged by him before Mr. Meade, the Assistant Collector. Mr. Meade convicted the editor and sentenced him to pay a fine. The editor thereupon appealed to the Court of Sessions at Ahmedabad, and that Court set aside his conviction and acquitted him. The following is taken from the judgment of the appellate court :—

“The first appellant pleaded that he printed the article after satisfying himself by personal enquiry from the villagers of the truth of the statements made.

“The second appellant stated that the villagers came and asked him to come and see the ill-treatment to which they were being subjected ; that owing to heavy rain he was unable to go ; that he wrote a petition of the villagers ; that they returned to him and said that they could get nobody to listen to them ; that he then wrote the article

complained of with a view to attract the notice of the superior authorities.

" In support of these pleas the accused called a large number of witnesses. Of these no fewer than twenty-four swear that they were subjected to the ill-treatment complained of in the article under consideration. These witnesses comprise 17 Kolis, 4 Girasias, 2 Rajputs and 1 Dhed, 12 of them from Damri, 7 from Wadala and 5 from Shetra. The Magistrate, for reasons which are not quite as clearly set out as they might be, holds the alleged ill-treatment is not proved. I do not propose to decide this question, as I am of opinion that the conviction must be set aside on the ground that the article complained of was written and published in good faith and for public good."

52. Though the Sessions Judge did not consider it necessary to express any opinion on the question of the ill-treatment, there could be no reason why so many cultivators of different castes and villages should combine to accuse the Government general duty Karkun of ill-treatment which he never practised.

53. At a meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 27th November, 1899, Government were asked to be pleased to enquire into the allegations made by the ryot witnesses in the case about the oppression practised and to place the result of the enquiry on the council table. They then said that they would consider the matter further when the result of the judicial proceedings was before them.

54. At a meeting of the Legislative Council held on 24th August, 1900, Government were again asked whether they had considered the matter, and if so, to place on the council table any orders that they might have passed. In reply to this, they stated that the allegations of torture and oppression were untrue, and they placed on the table a copy of their Resolution No. 2028, 39 Confidential, whereby they had ordered that the correspondence that had passed between Government, the Commissioner N.D. and the Collector of Kaira should be recorded. It is most unfortunate that Government were not able to see their way to direct a regular departmental enquiry on that occasion. A good deal has since transpired to show what weight to attach to *ex parte* reports in matters of this kind.

55. From 1894-5, with the exception of an insignificant increase in one year, there has been a constantly increasing contraction in area under cultivation in the Kaira District, as will be found from the following figures—

Years.	Area taken up.		Area relinquished.	
	acres.	yds.	acres.	yds.
1894-95	2,500	38	6,342	31
1895-96	1,429	5	10,438	5
1896-97	2,781	15	7,463	8
1897-98	3,462	18	4,716	17
1898-99	4,949	11	4,596	34
1899-1900	1,343	29	5,585	15
Total	16,476	26	39,142	30

This shows that during these 6 years the area under cultivation in the Kaira District suffered contraction by between 22 to 23 thousand acres. I have not been able to find the extent of the contraction of the cultivable area for the Matar Taluka. But considering all circumstances, it seems to me that the Matar Taluka should have been responsible for a large share of the same.

56. The quantity of land relinquished in this Taluka in the year ending 31st March, 1901, was 1,328 acres, assessment Rs. 5,410 (Bombay Government Gazette of 1901, part v, p. 419), and the quantity of Government land forfeited during 4 months from 15th April, 1901, to 31st July, 1901, was 2,727 acres, assessment Rs. 11,113. (Bombay Government Gazette, part v, p. 420.)

57. Now, after the famine and the two bad years that have followed, the condition of the Matar Taluka and its people is much worse than that of any other Taluka of the Kaira District and its inhabitants. The condition of the money-lenders of this Taluka is also much worse than that of the people of their profession in the other parts of the District.

58. The attention of the Government of Bombay has no doubt been drawn to the bad condition of the Taluka; in connection with 14 villages, with reference to which they were satisfied that no sufficient account had been taken of their deterioration by water-logging and salt efflorescence at the time when the revision settlement rates were proposed, and that in some instances the salt efflorescence might have increased since their introduction, they have sanctioned the giving of relief as follows:—

(a) In the under-mentioned six villages reductions were made to the extent mentioned below. I have entered against each village the percentage of increase at the revision survey, which would shew that notwithstanding the reductions, the amount payable in each case has remained larger than that under the original settlement :—

Name of the village.	Percentage of reduction of assessment fixed at Revision survey.			Percentage of increase of assessment at Revision survey over the assessment settled at original survey.
Pariej	40	59 $\frac{1}{2}$
Radu	15	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kaloli	20	31
Chitrason	60	64
Kathvada	35	57 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nayakh	12	32

In the above villages and eight others the land that was classed as rice land has been ordered to be classed as dry crop and the subsoil water rate has been ordered to be remitted. This concession, however, is to be included in the percentage of reduction of assessment above set forth and not considered in addition. Government, again, have authorised the Collectors to give reclamation leases for such waste lands as owing to the growth of coarse grass consequent on flooding or for like reasons, could not now be made cultivable without considerable expenditure of capital, and to give leases on special terms in respect of lands which could not be cultivated with profit on the ordinary terms, owing to excessive efflorescence of salt. Government further ordered that when the more prominent effects of famine had passed away, it should be reported to them whether all these or any other concessions were needed in other parts of the Taluka, and in the meantime remissions should be granted under the general orders where the crops produced did not supply occupants with the means of paying the full assessment, and at the same time of maintaining themselves and their families. (Bombay Government Gazette of 1902, part vii, p. 170.)

The agriculturists will no doubt feel grateful to Government for any concession that they are pleased to give; but considering that the rates of the original survey were by no means light, that the agriculturists of the low-lying areas have suffered frequently from floods, that their lands have got gradually deteriorated by water-logging and salt efflorescence, and that notwithstanding the deterioration they have gone on paying the full assessment all along, I think that these villages require to be treated with much greater liberality than Government are pleased to shew to them. As regards the other parts of the Taluka, the increases at the revision survey were not at all justified, and they have suffered most heavily from the calamities of the last three years. It would, there-

fore, be most desirable if Government ordered remissions to be granted on some uniform scale for a fixed period, say 5 years, in the whole of the Taluka instead of allowing them after enquiries into individual cases for ascertaining whether the crops produced do not supply occupants with means of paying full assessment and of maintaining themselves and their families, as such enquiries are likely to be unsatisfactory and to open a wide door for favouritism and corruption.

GOKALDAS K. PAREKH.

SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS.

I FEAR I shall disappoint some of you this evening by leaving untouched some of the Indian Problems which at the present moment are probably of the greatest public interest. I do not propose to discuss financial questions; I shall not allude to questions of land revenue or famine, or even to the poverty of the people of India. Nor shall I dilate on the industrial problem—the great economic crisis through which India has been and still is passing; sorely tempted though I was at one time to do so, I do not touch upon the burning question of the separation of executive and judicial functions.

Still less do I intend to discuss the labour questions, arising out of a legalised system of veiled slavery, which have lately been forced into considerable prominence in the province of which I have lately been, for some years, in charge of the administration. In this room in particular I am anxious to avoid contentious and controversial matter, and I am correspondingly desirous of rousing your interest in India, so far as I am able, by the discussion of principles and questions of the widest and most general importance. I shall, therefore, intentionally avoid all reference to details of any sort, and I propose to confine my remarks to a few general observations of a far-reaching character on the greatest of all problems connected with India; the political problem on the one hand, and the social, moral and religious problem on the other. I shall tell you nothing new. I have often discussed these matters before, both in print and in public and private addresses—my views are well-worn and well-known—but the issues raised are vital to our proper appreciation of all Indian problems, and I have little hesitation, therefore, in again pressing them on your consideration. I am compelled to be very brief, and it is difficult in dealing with such wide and complex subjects to be brief without becoming obscure, and impossible not to leave much unsaid which it would be very desirable to elucidate. For this I must ask for your indulgence, but the substance and subject of my remarks need, I think, call for no further apology to their audience.

* A paper read before the Positivist Society in London, on the 9th July, 1902.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM.

I turn first to the great Political Problem with which we are always brought face to face in our relations with India. I will state that problem and indicate its solution. It is dependent on the growth of national spirit, proceeding hand in hand with the social and moral revolution to which I shall subsequently refer, and is due to the same initial cause, viz., the spread of Western ideas and civilisation. The people of the country, enlightened and educated by ourselves, expanding with new ideas and fired by an ambition to which English education has given birth, make demands upon the Government for the enlargement of their liberties which are continually more reasonable and more irresistible. It is true that India is a vast assemblage of different races divided into numberless castes, classes and creeds. But unsympathetic as the subject races may be among themselves—and my experience is that we grossly exaggerate the want of sympathy among them—they are fully prepared, on an opportunity offering, to merge their own minor differences and combine in their attitude towards the British Government, which is supreme over all. This opportunity has been afforded by education on the lines of Western civilisation, which has already done much to unite them together. The result is an unmistakable nationalising tendency, which finds its utterance through a newspaper press, now become a powerful factor in Indian politics—and in the annual meetings of what are known as the Provincial and National Congresses. It is fortunate, and more than a fortunate coincidence, that this education binds them also to Great Britain. The use of such words as loyalty and disloyalty is not very appropriate to the educated natives of a dependency like India. They are loyal in that they appreciate the advantage of British rule and are grateful to the British Government for the benefits which have been conferred on them. If this constitutes loyalty, they are loyal. If it is disloyalty to attempt to wring concessions from the Government by all fair means within their power, they are disloyal. In the formation of public opinion they place themselves in opposition to the ruling race, and watch and censure, often in no measured terms, the abuses of the authority exercised over them by Englishmen. If this constitutes disloyalty, then they are disloyal. But they are not disloyal if disloyalty consists in the feeling that they would wish to see the English Government driven from India. That is not the feeling of the educated classes. They accept the existence of our Government as an incurable necessity which has done immense service to them both in the past and present, but which they are avowedly striving to modify in the direction of

changes which under its own impulse are growing up outside its constitution. The leaders of the national movement are His Majesty's opposition in India. But they assume, and rightly assume, that the connection between India and England will not be snapped. It is from England that all the ideas of Western thought, which are revolutionising the country, have sprung : the language of Shakespeare and Milton is theirs, and they are conscious more keenly even than Englishmen can be, that the future of India is linked with that of England, and it is to Great Britain they must look for guidance, assistance and protection in their need. There should be no misunderstanding here, and speaking in this Society I am particularly anxious not to be misunderstood. India is a tutelage unexampled in history, and we have incurred liabilities on its account not lightly to be set aside. England ought no more to break from its part than should India break from its own traditions. Nevertheless, the process of reconstruction should be always before our eyes. Changes may and should be gradual, but they must come, and we should not only be prepared for their realisations but accustom ourselves to the conception of a lofty, albeit somewhat remote, ideal. We are all of us the better for the exercise of forethought. Statesmanship consists in foreseeing, and it is the privilege of our Indian Statesmen to be able to regulate the gradual attainment of the pending changes which succeeding generations will witness. It demands from them a capacity for reconstruction, for guidance and sympathy during a period of transition for energy and action which it is necessary to advance, and for masterly inactivity and watchful repose when it is more necessary to look to the encouragement of spontaneous development. It is the sublimest function of imperial dominion to take occasion by the hand and unite the varying races under our sway into one empire, to fan the glowing embers of this national existence; to afford scope to their political aspirations and to devote ourselves to the peaceful reorganisation of their political independence as the only basis of our ultimate relationship between the two countries. Dim and distant though the vision before me may be, I hope we may venture to anticipate a time when there will be established a federation of native states, each with its own civil autonomy and independence, under the immediate supremacy of England. The difficulty is not so much to organise internal administration as to provide for the maintenance of healthy relations between separate and independent states, but this difficulty is a real one; there is a tendency to exaggerate it. The best solution would seem to lie in a proposal to place India on a fraternal footing with the colonies of Eng-

land. A constitutional relationship of this kind, as though England were the parent country and India its colony, would form a material guarantee for the peaceful attitude of the native states. England would always have a stake in India sufficient to call forth interference if necessary, and would continue to afford the principal assurance of peace. The limited time at my disposal will not allow me to discuss this conception further. But I put it forward as the ideal of political reconstruction -- a federation of states under the colonial supremacy of England with provincial national armies ultimately replacing the present standing army of Great Britain. The careful conservation of existing social institutions is the essential complement of this reconstruction. India is not yet prepared for such a social revolution as our Western civilisation would thrust upon it. It still needs the hierarchical leadership of caste. The present tendency to reduce the power of the dominant classes and to destroy all distinctions between the different strata of society is calculated to exercise and has already wrought a disturbing influence. What is wanted is an organisation of small states each with a prince at its head and a comparatively small body of patrician aristocracy interposing between him and the lower orders of working men. For such an arrangement the country appears to be eminently adapted; the United States of India should be bound together by means of some political organisation other than the colonial supremacy of England. The lower orders stand in urgent need of an aristocracy above them; their ignorance and characteristic docility and want of firmness require the protection of more powerful superiors. The basis of internal order is, therefore, to be found in the recognition of a patrician aristocracy of indigenous growth and trained by past associations to control and lead. Turning to the question of foreign invasion, I deem it sufficient to say that, in my humble opinion, we need have little apprehension on this score. I rejoice that public opinion in this direction has undergone considerable modification in recent years. I am now, I think, able to affirm, without the impetuous contradiction which until recently would certainly have been my lot, that aggression on the part of Russia into India would be as suicidal in her case as the aggression on the part of England into Central Asia would infallibly result in the destruction of any army despatched thither. War, of course, may result from the folly or wickedness of the rulers of either country, but the invasion of India by Russia appears to me one of the most improbable of contingencies. In any case, our surest safeguard is the existence of a united and contented nation, to which the largest concession of political rights has been accorded, and the amplest justice rendered.

Russia would be powerless against a United India. No foreign power could conquer India if she were a true nation. The English rule itself will not survive the fulfilment of those national impulses which we have ourselves brought into operation. I have described the ideal future of India as a federation of independent states cemented together by the power of England. India so constituted would afford from its own resources the most powerful check against aggression for all time. The close connection of England with India, the attitude of the foster-mother country under the proposed colonial relations, would not only tend to prevent a short-sighted jealousy, but would sufficiently strengthen the United States of India in presenting an unbroken front of opposition to a common foe.

THE SOCIAL, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS PROBLEM.

I pass on at once to a few remarks on the Social, Moral and Religious Problem. I had intended to speak more fully on these heads, but I am perforce reduced to even greater brevity. Yet the crisis to the people of India is more serious and acute in these directions than in any other. The complete machinery of Western civilisation has been let loose on the simple society of the East. Under the solvent influence of English education the old organisations are crumbling up and India has entered upon a long career of transition preparatory to the establishment of a new order. The immediate result of this is disturbance. The actual Hinduism of the present has behind it a polytheistic past of thirty centuries or more, which must inevitably mould and colour its future, whatever the form it may hereafter take. The effect of English education is to break this continuity. Official interference was unavoidable in the first instance—in no other way could a beginning have been made—but the movement in India now stands in need of no such stimulus. Our chief object now should be to maintain order, while the remaining period of transition is in the hands of those who may be able to control it. The de-polytheising of India is not a task for Indian officials to undertake—such a change can only be effected by voluntary efforts, partly foreign and partly indigenous, the doctrine coming in its main features from the West, but being moulded into appropriate forms by Eastern intellects. It is certain that the regenerating doctrine must arise in the West. The vanguard of Humanity has been in the West for a thousand years, and the development of the race everywhere being due to the same fundamental laws, must correspond in its main features with the development of its most advanced portion. But the West must be itself united before it can expect to produce a salutary influence upon

the East. If we look at the West as it actually is, we find a state of utter confusion ; churches and classes are at war with one another and disunited among themselves. In the presence of such chaos we should not seek to proselytise : we should be content to wait ; our true attitude should be one of conservation, and our wisest policy will be to refrain from any action which leads directly to collision with the old theocratic organisation. The old Hindoo polytheism is a present basis of moral order and rests upon foundations so plastic that it can be moulded into the most divine forms, adapting itself equally to the intellect of the subtle metaphysician and to the emotions of the unlettered peasant. The system of caste, far from being the source of all the troubles which can be traced in Hindoo Society, has rendered the most important services in the past and still continues to sustain order and solidarity. In the future, the distinctive conceptions of Hinduism will be preserved and incorporated into a higher faith ; but at present we are incapable of replacing it by a religion which shall at once reflect the national life and be competent to form a nucleus round which the law and reverence of the votaries may cluster. It is to this problem that our eminent colleague in India, the late Mr. Jogendro Chunder Ghosh, devoted himself for twenty years. His life's work was devoted to the facilitation through a stormy *miliu* of the passage from the past to the present, to the softening of the asperities which are inevitable during a period of transition from ancient Hinduism to modern occidentalism, by means of an appeal through Brahman agency both to an alien Government and to the heart of the people. He was deeply convinced that it was only through the pundits or priestly members of the Brahmanical caste that it would be possible to influence the Hindoo community at large, so as to ensure that the changes which are being wrought by contact with the West shall be effected without danger and in a healthy manner. With great pains and elaboration he endeavoured to adapt British teaching to Hindoo practice. We Western Positivists are emancipated after a sharp and, in many cases, protracted revolutionary struggle with a decaying creed. With our Indian brethren, on the contrary, Hinduism is still a reality ; it is still instinct with life. It is more than a religion, or it is a system interwoven with every act of their domestic and social existence. It is the mission of Positivists to maintain peace among families and between friends ; to preserve social order and to encourage continuity. It has been reserved for others to bring dissension among households and to abruptly break the bonds of family and society. Ours is a more friendly mission as becomes its more human aim. We come not to bring

a sword on earth but peace. Less than any of the proclaimers of a new system of life and conduct do we acquiesce in any mere moral negation or in the unsettlement of men's thoughts and principles. We are no iconoclasts. Hinduism commands our respect, and we desire not to subvert a system which is still the basis of moral, social and religious order throughout a vast continent. Islam also commands our respect, and I wish to record our attitude of profound admiration and gratitude towards the great Christian creed. But we know that in the Western world Christianity has a failing hold on the minds of men. In the East, however, both Islam and Hinduism have as yet shown no sign of insufficiency. The whole nation of professing Hindoos and Musulmans is animated by a religious sense to which the states of civilised Europe have long been a stranger. Do not suppose, therefore, that we are so foolish as to dream of preaching Positivism to the masses of the people. The task I always saw before me in India, the problem which Jogendro Baboo set himself so persistently to solve, was the adaptation of Positivism to the Hindoo environment which surrounded us. It is a Hindooised Positivism that the small but faithful body of Hindoo Positivists has accepted; the religion of Humanity, on the one hand, with the system and life of Hinduism, on the other. We offer Positivism to those only who are in a position to appreciate the benefits which the new religion confers. We seek for improvement only by linking the present with the past and by introducing modifications with due regard to the antecedents which must always most powerfully control the environment in which we are placed.

I must now conclude. Hours would not suffice to enable me to fill in adequately the ideas I have but sketched in outline. But I have very imperfectly done my part this evening if I have not placed before you with sufficient distinctness the most important of the problems with which we in this country, almost as much as our fellow-countrymen who are labouring in India, are confronted, and the suggestions which we as Positivists have to put forward for the manner of their solution. I will summarise what I have tried to say. Politically, the problem before us is the systematic recognition of the aspirations of the leaders of the Indian people. For this purpose a constructive and sympathetic policy is needed, which shall guide and control events during a long and protracted period of change and transition. In their social, moral and religious aspects the changes taking place are not less considerable. In both cases the difficulty is to pass from the old to the new order with the minimum of disturbance. But in the latter case the difficulty is to be

overcome—not by the adoption of any active methods, but by abstaining from interference and leaving it to orientals to graft Western ideas upon an oriental stock. The function of Government shall be confined to preserving, as far as possible, the existing basis of order by a policy of wise conservation.

H. J. S. COTTON.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION.

THE long and protracted sittings of the Universities Commission have at last ended, and we are now confronted with a lengthy and elaborate report upon our existing educational system. The suggestions for reform, coming as they do from such eminent authorities, are entitled to all respect and consideration, but I am constrained to confess that some suggestions, at all events, thrown out by them, are open to grave objection. In offering these observations I am impelled by no captious or carping spirit, but as the issues involved are of profound importance, it is only proper that this matter should be discussed in its various aspects.

Dr. Bannerjee has already struck a note of dissent, and at the very outset I must confess that his views seem to be much more in accord with public opinion and much more consistent with the real needs and wants of our University than those of his colleagues. The opinion of such a learned educationist will doubtless receive its due weight.

I do not propose to consider here the question of a University founded upon the model of Oxford or Cambridge. It would undoubtedly have been a splendid achievement had it been at all possible; but Oxford and Calcutta are as widely apart in conditions of life and in progress of general education as they can be, and any discussion of a University on those lines will be premature at this stage, and the Commissioners have wisely excluded that subject from their consideration.

To start with, I am unable to follow the Commissioners in the proposal of fixing a minimum college fee. Such a step, to put it mildly, will be extremely inexpedient. The pressing need of

India, at this juncture, is the popularisation of education. It is perfectly clear that education is the condition precedent of progress in India and elsewhere. Though I do not go the length of saying, with the Greek philosopher, that education is the panacea for all the evils in a State, still I hold that unless education penetrates the masses; progress, either social, economical or intellectual, will be hollow and unsubstantial.

Nor can we lose sight of the hard and stern fact that poverty is deep and distressing here. Many a brilliant youth is driven by sheer poverty and privation to leave his education unfinished. Do we not know instance upon instance of students, eager to prosecute their studies, but unable to do so owing to their inability to pay College fees ?

As it is, numberless students are shut out from continuing their studies for want of funds. How much worse would it be if they were forced to meet increased college fees ? The reasons for the rejection of this proposal are so abundant and overwhelming that I can scarcely believe that it will be acceptable to Government. I trust that the Commissioners do not entertain the idea that education is the exclusive privilege of the aristocracy. If ever that idea had a sway on the educated world, we sincerely hope that the time has long gone by. The richer classes in this country are so utterly divorced from culture, that we cannot expect them, with any plausibility, to give serious attention to the education of their children, and forsooth ! if they are so minded they can give them the best education possible by sending them to one of the public schools in England. It is not *their* interests that lie near to our heart. We are speaking for those who have stinted means at their command, and for them this proposal is of exceptional hardship. It will indeed place an intolerable burden upon education.

Upon the Mahomedans it will weigh the heaviest. As it is, the majority of them are unable to meet the expenses of education, and if this proposal is carried into effect it will create an insurmountable barrier to the diffusion of education, at least among them. I am not a little surprised that the Hon'ble Syed Hosain Belgrami, a man of great experience and rare ability, assented to it without demur or hesitation. I will only observe that he seems to have watched the interest of his community with anything but a watchful eye. The

Government of India is eminently a patriarchal Government, and as it has, of late, evinced considerable interest in educational questions, it will not shrink from making a liberal contribution towards the education of the millions entrusted to its charge.

The next thing which calls for comment is the proposal to abolish the second grade colleges unless they are raised to the standard of first grade colleges. I am not quite clear that this is a right suggestion. These colleges will not in any way interfere with the Government maintaining first grade colleges with a thoroughly efficient working staff. Nor do I think that the existence of such colleges is likely to lower the general tone of education among the Indian people. The only question will be the financial condition of the student. If he can afford to pay higher fees he will have better education. If, on the contrary, his financial condition will not permit him the luxury of a first class education I am unable to see why he should be denied the opportunity of learning whatever he can at a second grade college. The most enthusiastic supporter of schools and colleges in England will hardly maintain that the educational standard is everywhere alike or uniform. Besides, I am disposed to think that it would be better to give full and complete scope to individual liberty in matters of education, at least, than to reduce it to a dead-level of uniformity.

The next proposal to which we take exception is the proposal for the abolition of text-books in English and the raising of the percentage of pass marks to 40 in the Entrance examination. I have not the smallest hesitation in saying that the Commissioners are actuated with the best of motives, but I submit that they have a little overlooked the actual state of culture prevalent in this country. To expect general education in English in an Indian boy of fifteen is alike curious and astonishing. The Commissioners have evidently forgotten that our boys have to learn English in the same manner, and perhaps with the same difficulties, as English boys have to learn Latin. English is a foreign language to them, and the natives of a country can never appreciate the difficulty which a foreigner has to encounter in learning a language which they have imbibed with their mother's milk. Such has signally been the case with the Commissioners. Imagine an Indian boy being questioned and examined in general English

literature ! When has he had the time to travel beyond a few elementary text-books, and with what propriety can we expect from him proficiency in English literature ? Unless the whole existing system of education is swept away and a fresh one established, this scheme will be purely chimerical. How would it be if the young undergraduate going up for "Responsions" at Oxford had to undergo a general examination in Latin or Greek ? I say it with great respect and deference, but I am forced to say that this proposal is highly objectionable. Moreover, if it aims at dealing a blow at the cramming that is rampant here, it will, I fear, fail in its effect.

I have no doubt whatever that within a year or two of the introduction of this scheme there will be a plentiful crop of "Students' Guides to the Entrance Examination," "Students' Hand-books," and similar works to help the crammers. Cramming will not be put an end to by any such measures. To my mind it is patent that cramming will only be stopped by putting university education upon a broader, a more liberal and a more catholic basis. Let us take, for instance, the examinations at Oxford. There the students do not have such a multiplicity of subjects for examination as Indian students have out here. They have to study one subject and its kindred branches. The professor directs their studies and is more a guide than a moving encyclopædia from whom *alone* the students are to derive knowledge. The students have to make their own notes, and the system of weekly essays keeps them from falling below the mark. The object of examinations at Oxford is not so much to test the memory as to gauge the intellectual powers of the students, their power of assimilation, their power of thinking and their power of arguing a question. We have only to look at the history papers which are set at the schools at Oxford to see that it is so. The proposal to abolish French as a subject of University teaching seems to be a mistake. The study of modern European languages will broaden the mind and widen the vision of Indian students. Moreover, in every branch of study, history, philosophy, science and mathematics, we are dependent upon the scholarship of French and German savants. Hitherto these languages have been neglected, and I am surprised that their study should have been discouraged by the Commissioners.

I heartily concur with the Commissioners in the proposal of a central Law College. It is a great desideratum in Calcutta, and I am perfectly convinced that the establishment of such a College, manned by capable and efficient professors, will greatly further legal studies in this part of India.

Now I pass on to the suggestions put forth by the Commissioners respecting a majority of tutors and professors in the syndicate, and about placing the University under official control. With regard to the first question, I cannot say that I am in agreement with the Commissioners. My reason for it is very simple. I readily concede that tutors and professors will be much more adept in their own sphere of work than laymen, but at the same time we must not forget that lay opinion is very often extremely necessary and valuable, and particularly so when we consider that educational policy must always be broad, tolerant and liberal. It is only too well-known how tenaciously such a body of men cling to their time-honoured systems and institutions, and how little disposed they are to change or reform. It is, therefore, imperative that men who do not belong to the close guild of tutors and professors should have free admission to the syndicate.

With regard to the other questions, I am at one with the Commissioners as far as the Government-aided colleges are concerned, but I see no reason why the proprietary colleges should be under unlimited official control. It is only fair that they should be allowed to follow out their own system. If every college was brought under complete official supervision, freedom of choice and liberty of action, in the sphere of education, would reach its vanishing point.

I now part company with the Commission and pass on to make one or two suggestions. The Government of Bengal has taken a very wise step in founding Research scholarships. Such a system was greatly needed in this country, and if it is carefully tended and nursed, it will bring forth a rich harvest of fruit. The vast fields of Indian history, of philosophy, of philology, and of ethnology are practically unexplored, and I venture to think that if competent men are induced to work upon these subjects, a great deal will be done towards the advancement of learning. To attain scholarship in any one of these branches of study I think a knowledge of French and German absolutely essential, and

it is precisely for this reason that I have suggested the encouragement of a study of modern languages. For the complete realisation of this suggestion, a central College will be required, where the students might prosecute their studies under trained guides. It will no doubt entail heavy expense upon the Government, but the usefulness of the institution will outweigh the expense which it will involve.

To sum up, I have been compelled to disagree with some of the proposals of the Commissioners, and I firmly believe that if those suggestions are carried out they will, instead of remedying the evils which it is sought to remove, call into being perhaps worse difficulties.

Lord Curzon has, from the very beginning of his administration, held out high hopes to us of reform and improvement, and we are anxiously looking forward to some really sound changes and reforms. We are thoroughly convinced that in his earnest single-heartedness of purpose to use the vast power entrusted to him for the good of India, he will achieve a success which will place him for ever in the inmost shrine of our affection and gratitude.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

CHUNI THE SUTTEE.

A STORY OF HINDU LIFE.

(Continued from the July number.)

Chapter II.

HOW THE FIRST IDEAS DAWNED.

THE *parsal* was separated from the Desaiji's hall by a large open square or *chok*, surrounded on all sides by a verandah, roofed with an open terrace. The lady guest was conducted by the Desaiji from the outer hall through the quadrangle into the *parsal*, and as they were crossing the *chok*, the lady's eye fell upon the simple furniture of the verandah, which consisted only of a few painted benches, as also upon a couple of brass cages hung from the ceiling and an ornamented copper vase, with a Tulsi plant growing in it, placed on the *Vedi* or altar in the middle of the square. One of the cages contained a parrot and the other a pair of mainas. The parrot greeted the visitor with "Jai Sri Krishna," and the mainas wondered what place the interesting creature could fill in nature, as her attire bore a close resemblance to the natural coverings of the more beautiful members of the feathered creation, while her face was like that of the lady from whose hands they daily received their food.

"Madam Saheb, here is the Desai-en, who will show you all that you would care to see"—said the Desai, stopping at the entrance of the *parsal*; "I must retire and be with the Collector Saheb. The ladies will not allow me to enter their presence." The guest went in and the door was closed after the master of the house.

The Desai-en and the English lady seated themselves on a bench, and presently a number of ladies, who had been specially invited to attend the betrothal, emerged from their places one by one and joined the company as silent spectators, without formal greeting or introduction. When the Desai-en had engaged her guest for some time in conversation, a fresh arrival was announced, and another lady presented herself on the scene. "Have you come?" asked the hostess. "Yes, are you sitting?" was the reply. The conversation was resumed and it traversed a variety of subjects of mutual interest. The ladies grew more and more communicative, and each was eager to know the manners and customs prevailing in the society to which the other belonged. The talk was punctuated with frequent laughter and became all the more enjoyable because of the funny mistakes of language which each committed in making herself understood by the other. The conversation over, the Desai-en introduced to the Madam Saheb several of the ladies present, giving particulars as to the professions and salaries of their

husbands, fathers or other relations employed in the Collector's Kutcherri and elsewhere. Now and then a young lady visibly blushed at the mention of her husband's name, and attempted to turn away her face or drew the end of her *saree* over her mouth. At the conclusion of the visit, a silver cup, filled with pieces of sugarcandy, was presented to the honoured guest, and the Desai-en took care to explain that it was the custom on such auspicious occasions to present guests with sugarcandy or sweets in cups—an explanation which was supplemented by another lady, who had devoted some attention to the economic side of the custom, with the remark that the cups were, as a rule, very cheap. The English lady understood that the allusion was to the cups of leaves which lay in a heap at a corner of the *pavsal*.

Little Miss Chuni, who had been mutely listening to the conversation, felt in a vague manner that she was about to enter upon a life of greater importance, but she could ask no questions. She gathered that she was going to have two mothers instead of one, and as she stood in the *chok* and cast up a glance at the stories above she felt as if the whole house was her own.

"Come in, child," said the Desai-en, as she returned alone after seeing the guests off; she looked about the *chok* and found Chuni in a meditative mood. The elderly matron was moved to tears by the sight of the child who was feeling lonely in her new house. She was agreeably surprised and gladdened as Chuni ran up to her and wound her little arms round the Desai-en's waist and, with beaming eyes, looked up and asked: "Are you not my mother now, is not this house mine?"

"Yes, my child!" said the Desai-en, weeping for joy and patting Chuni on the back.

"So whenever, as to-day, we shall be all by ourselves in this house, you will be talking to me as my mother does, and we shall be talking away all our time?" inquired the child anxiously, and yet hopefully.

"Even so, child, until I die and thou survivest and hast a daughter-in-law as I have thee!" replied the mother-in-law, as she placed her hand on Chuni's head.

"Why do you talk of dying, mother?" asked Chuni with curiosity.

"I can die blessed if thou survivest, child. May Hari make the older pass away, while the younger live and thrive!" muttered the lady, saddened by the thought that they should one day part from each other.

A heavy silence followed, which was fortunately interrupted by the voices of girls who were heard singing outside.

In a moment they were in the *chok*, which resounded with their chatter and song, and was ablaze with the glitter of their ornaments and the glare of their *sarees*. Chuni knew she was to be escorted home.

Chapter III.

THE MISSION OF WOMANHOOD.

A few years after the betrothal, Chuni was married. To no other mother in the town did the cruel uncertainty of a daughter's destiny come home so fully as to Chuni's mother. Her eldest child, who had been married into a poor family, had indeed proved herself to be such

an ideal wife and daughter-in-law that she was a source of pride alike to the mother, the husband and to his family; but the mother's heart bled at the sight of the unremitting toil, the recurring illness, and even the occasional misunderstandings, inevitable in a family with many ladies, to which her beloved child was subject.

Chuni's marriage was a great relief to her, for the Desaiji's family was at least rich, though Master Desai was rather a wayward boy. She knew that the Desai-en, too, was a good-natured lady, and her only anxiety was to see that Chuni herself was so trained up as to be able to manage Master Desai and the other members of his rich family. She accordingly passed many an afternoon hour in talking to Chuni about her future duties, and in telling her anecdotes from the lives of wives and daughters-in-law who had failed or succeeded in making their way through difficulties in rich families. Chuni received practical lessons in domestic work from her mother, and the object lessons afforded by her poor sister's life made her heart tender and her aspirations simple. Chuni, however, did not wish to be a mere drudge. From her companions she picked up a little knowledge of needle-work and embroidery, and also learnt a few songs.

There were no schools for girls in those days. But in the higher castes girls, not seldom, were taught at least two out of the three R's, and could write letters to their mothers or husbands, if occasion required it. Chuni acquired the art from some of her young friends and was tempted to try her skill in the first instance by writing a small letter to Master Desai, although she had not yet exchanged a word with him. Young as she was, and by custom forbidden to speak to her husband, she was intelligent enough to feel an interest in her husband's doings, and she knew, as if by intuition, that he would be more pleased than otherwise to receive a letter from her. The part of the letter over her signature contained a request for some good book to read and a picture-book. In a postscript, however, she mildly asked whether it would not do him good to avoid the company of certain boys with whom he was associating. The brave girl tied the letter to the end of a long pole and reached it up to young Desai, as he was one day standing alone and peeping out of a window in the higher story of his own house which overlooked Chuni's terrace. Startled and confused, he was not displeased with the unexpected enterprise of the girl, from whose lips, instead of her calamus, he would have preferred to receive her communication. With a beating heart, he opened and read the letter, and overcome no less by the affectionate solicitude about his associations than by the girlish fondness for pictures, he immediately wrote a reply, confessing the error of his ways and promising to mend them as well as to comply with her other request. The silly boy, however, was unworthy of a wife's confidence, and a few days afterwards, betrayed the contents of the letter to one of his associates, who lectured to him on the restraint under which women should always be kept, and ridiculed the uxoriousness of the Anglicised generation of young men. Such were the events and incidents that marked the earlier years of Chuni's married life.

With the lapse of days and months, Master Desai was going from

bad to worse; and he was falling into vice and learning irreverence for parents and caste, custom and religion. Chuni's letters of admonition grew both in length and in frequency, and ere long she beheld with consternation that the most powerful and the most affectionate letters which her wit could devise failed to produce any effect upon the victim of evil company. But the budding youth which made Chuni keenly sensitive to such disappointments and fears, to which she was a stranger only a year before, also opened her ears to the voice of a Higher Power, which spoke to her from within and from without, and sustained her with a strength without which life would have been a burden to the girl.

Chuni had of late been attending the sacred *katha*, where the exploits of the Mother Goddess were being recited in Sanskrit and explained in the popular vernacular to an audience of men and women. She heard it expounded that to the true devoted wife—*Pativrata*—there was no religious duty higher than the service of her husband. But the same Brahman reciter also preached that the relations between man and woman were earthly, transient and illusory, that the Mother Goddess or the Father God—all but different names of one Being—was the only eternal rest of the human soul, and that the duty to that Being was higher than one's duty to parent, spouse or child. Was she not a devoted wife? Why was she not blessed? Could she do more for her husband? Was she slack in her service of the Mother? Tormented by these questionings, Chuni one day left the *katha* in despair, and sought the Mother's voice in solitude. The memory of some of the words of the reciter dawned upon her mind. "Is not the Mother," she cried to herself, "the life and the intelligence of every conscious being—the appetite, the thirst, the endurance, the peace and the power that awaken man and woman into their manifold activities?" She relapsed into silence, but the question came to her: "Had the Mother given the appetite and the thirst to young Desai, expecting from her the endurance, the peace, and the power?" The thought lingered and would not leave her. "Yes," resolved she; "the three elements of Her being which the Mother has given unto me I will consecrate to the service of my husband. May she give him the life and the intelligence!"

As she uttered these words, she felt a weird light waving over her head, and she fell asleep. She awoke fresher, stronger and happier than she ever had felt before, and the experience through which she had passed remained in her memory ever afterwards as that of a dream. She related it to a few confidentially, and those that heard the story explained that the mystic event proved Chuni to have been a Sati in her past life. It was with this belief that Chuni entered upon her womanhood.

The Desaiji and the Desai-en were never allowed to hear the story of the trance in which the *Sât*—or the power and inspiration—of the Mother had come upon Chuni. They observed that young Desai was passing out of their moral control: they thought that Chuni was now old enough in body and mind to live under their roof, and in the hope that the young man might thereby be saved, the parents on both sides decided that Master Desai and Chuni should henceforward live as husband and wife.

Chapter IV.

A CONJUNCTION OF GOOD AND EVIL STARS.

The tide of fortune in the Desai family was taking an adverse turn. Questions had been raised as to the terms on which the Desais held their estates, their extent and their emoluments. Collector after collector had inquired into these knotty problems and left an ever increasing legacy of complications to his successors. But recently a native Deputy Collector of great ability and zeal had arrived, and he solved the difficulties, and solved them with a vengeance.

The Government, while agreeing with the intellectual reasonings of the plebeian Deputy Collector, was inclined to show as much sympathy to the aristocratic family as was consistent with its own interests, and the upshot of years of investigation and research, and of reams of correspondence in every direction, was the issue of a long G. O., resolving that the cash allowance which the family had been receiving for generations should be stopped, that the terms on which landed estates had been held should be greatly modified, and that the lands should be surveyed, assessed and settled. Government settlements are always long, occupying years in their completion, and in the meanwhile the Desai was expected to deal with a large army of petty officers, clerks and peons, and to keep up an establishment of his own for settling an endless variety of questions that were sure to be raised by ingenious subordinates of Government.

The G. O. broke the old man's heart. A local pleader was indeed confident that the action of the Government was illegal, and he strongly advised the Desai to fight out his rights in the courts of law. But that meant entering upon an uncertain enterprise which he, by reason of his old age, was not likely to live long enough to finish or even to begin and sustain with that energy, care and shrewdness which were the essentials of a successful law-suit. He knew full well that his son, while growing in age, showed no capacity or inclination to relieve him from the yoke so long borne by himself. The evil stars of the family appeared now to be in the ascendant. The old Joshi, who could have thrown some light upon the coming events, was now dead, and upstart astrologers could not be relied on. As he sat upon his gadee one day brooding upon things in this wise, his Munim came with the balance sheet for the year. It revealed a miserable state of affairs. The expenses had risen even beyond those of the year of Master Desai's marriage, while an unprecedented number of tenants and cultivators withheld their rents. A new generation of officials that knew not the Desai had arisen, and the prestige of the great landlord had terribly suffered.

The Desai bit his lip as he realised his position, but felt still more pained to learn that Master Desai had greatly exceeded his pocket allowance and had even incurred some debts. The Munim bowed and retired. The Desai sent for his helpmeet. She too had a conversation with the Munim. She had been ailing for some time, and the treatment by the family vaidya had not done much good. The Munim put in a word for the Parsi doctor who had set up a shop in the neighbourhood, but the lady smiled and replied that she would rather trust to nature than

be treated by one who thought that Daru (alcohol) was the panacea for all ailments. That poison had sealed the fate of her son, and she would not have a drop of it on any account.

The Desai and the Desai-en fell into an absorbing conversation upon their domestic and financial affairs; neither could resist the tears that alternately filled their eyes. Their only hope now lay in Chuni. Astrologers had spoken highly of her stars. Of her wisdom and ability they had already not a few convincing proofs. They came to the resolve that their son's budget ought to be placed under her charge and that she should be entrusted more and more largely with the affairs of the family.

(To be continued.)

G. M. TRIPATHI.

CORONATION DAY.

"Vox populi vox Dei."
(*Archbishop Reynolds.*) *

Multitude on multitude ! And wherefore do they come,
Filling all the streets about us with a roar,
While in markets of the merchant all is desolate and dumb,
And the argosies are silent on the shore ?
And we listen to the voice of Britain and her daughters
As we listen when the thunders are abroad ;
The voice that rises here, and that comes across the waters,
The Fiat of the People and of God.
The concord and the pleasure of a Planet-girding Nation
And the homage that the distant Islands bring,
As they come to set the Crown, with a solemn dedication,
On the head of one appointed for their King.
Let the aliens rage and let their rulers plot together,
If in unity and patience we abide ;
For the wrath of man is weak and lighter than a feather,
When Duty is our guardian and guide.
Our ears have heard the tales that those before us told
Of the trials and the triumphs that they knew,
From the navy of the Spaniard discomfited of old
To the days of Trafalgar and Waterloo.
And we smile at foreign malice as our fathers did at Spain
When she sought to bring their necks beneath her yoke,
Philip, Lewis, and the Corsican ! Their enmity was vain,
He who sought to break the Briton still was broke.

* At the coronation of King Edward III. the Archbishop took these words as the text of the sermon in the Abbey. The medal bore the device—"Populi dat jura voluntas."

So let the King come forth—many Kings have been before him
 To seek a consecration of the Lord,
In the moment of their glory being ready to adore Him
 As the Giver of the sceptre and the sword :
But none had greater earnest of His blessing and His mercies
 Than the Prince who came to rule us in our gloom,
When the sons of Envy gathered round with calumny and curses,
 And our cheers of welcome echo from a tomb ;
His gracious Mother's tomb ; but she speaketh, being dead,
 For the Empire that she made resounds her praise ;
May the King, our Emperor, follow where her holy footsteps led,
 And the people's love make beautiful his days !

RUSTIC.

DANTE TO BEATRICE.

Not to dwell on and age through tired aeons
 Still in the iron chains of self and sin,
With, through it all, the aching sense revealing
 How outward influence clogs the God within ;

But oh ! in some swift anguish nearest rapture
 To be made pure ; to be made fair and free ;
To be made one with God ; and in that making
 Made one with thee !

DOROTHY CORNISH.

Florence, 1902.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The Indian Universities Commission.

The Indian Universities Commission was appointed (1) to inquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities of British India, (2) to report upon proposals for improving their constitution and working, and (3) to recommend such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning. The President of the Commission was a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, and its members consisted of a Secretary to the Government of India, a Director of Public Instruction, a former Director of Public Instruction in a Native State, the Principal of a Government College, the Principal of a private College, and a High Court Judge. The result of their labours is now before the public in the shape of a Report which is as replete with proposals of an "immediately practical nature" as it is free from academic discussions of broad or basic principles.

The "condition and prospects" of our Universities were already known well enough to the public and to Government, and the inquiries made by the Commission do not seem to have brought any new facts to light. With the exception of the Panjab University, which undertakes the direct management of the Oriental College, the Indian Universities are not only self-supporting, but lay by a surplus of a few thousands every year. With the saving already effected, and with the annual surplus, each of the four self-supporting Universities may found and maintain a library; but unless their resources are materially augmented, there is no prospect of their undertaking any other fresh duties, such as making better provision for advanced courses of study. The opinion expressed before the

Commission, that "something may be expected from private liberality," is duly recorded. The Commission thinks that "college assistance may, to some extent, be relied on." Let us hope that many a college which is already struggling for existence, and whose last state, if some of the Commission's recommendations are adopted, will be worse than the first, will not feel this remark to be a cruel joke. Lastly, there is the Government, from which all things proceed and unto which all things are subject. It may be expected that Lord Curzon will at the proper time announce how his Government is prepared to strengthen the financial position of the Universities. Supposing that they will not be able for a long time to come to undertake post-graduate and scientific teaching—and the teaching of undergraduates is altogether out of the question—a good library will in itself make a mute University: every book teaches.

A large number of the Commission's recommendations relate to the "constitution and working" of the Universities. The Senates are now too large, and it would appear they need to be "protected against the incursion of voters who are brought together in large numbers only by the prospect of an election or by a debate on some question which has been agitated out of doors." We see nothing wrong in agitating a question out of doors, especially when it affects the pockets of parents. The interests of managers of colleges are not always identical with those of the parents of students, and a little "agitation" may sometimes be quite as necessary in University administration as it is in politics. But in the main a Senate should be composed of educational experts, and there is no reason to suppose that the interests of parents will be altogether ignored by a body of 100 members, such as is proposed for Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, or even of 60, such as is considered sufficient for Allahabad and the Panjab, especially because the interference of Government may be invoked if at any time a piece of real injustice is perpetrated. The existing Senates are to be dissolved, and new ones created in their place, a Fellowship continuing only for five years. For the Syndicate, it is suggested, the minimum number may be 9 and the maximum 15. A number of Government officials, who are at present *ex-officio* members of the Senate, will cease to be such, but there are to be "representatives of Government" on the

Senate, and it is proposed that the Director of Public Instruction should be, *ex-officio*, a member and Vice-Chairman of the Syndicate. We do not know what the powers of a Vice-Chairman may be. If it is sought to confer upon him a mere dignity in consideration of the services which he is asked to render in connection with the affiliation of colleges and schools, just as it is proposed to create the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal Rector of the University of Calcutta, the honour may well be bestowed on such a redoubtable officer. It has been suggested that in this proposal the Commission has been actuated by a desire to bring the whole University "under the thumb" of the Director of Public Instruction, but until the dimensions of that part of his hand are defined we are at liberty to assume that it will be neither larger nor smaller than that of any other Syndic.

Most of the Universities have recognised the principle that their examinations should be open, as a rule, only to those who have received their education in an approved institution—approved by "recognition" in the case of schools, and by "affiliation" in the case of colleges. The conditions of approval, however, are not very strict, and their enforcement has been even less strict. It is proposed that a University should recognise only schools within its local limits recognised by the local Education Department in accordance with the departmental rules for the time being in force, and schools in Native States which are certified by the Government of the State in which they are situated to be organised and conducted in general accordance with the educational rules in force in the province of British India with which it is politically or academically connected. The reason is that the Universities have no adequate machinery for ascertaining the condition of schools. A reference to the statistics published by Government shows that in the year 1900-1 there were in Bengal 503 High Schools for boys, in the United Provinces 101, in the Panjab 109, in Bombay 105, and in Madras 148. Then there are other provinces of British India and the Native States. The Registrar of a University can hardly be expected properly and conveniently to inspect such a large number of schools scattered up and down the area within his jurisdiction; nor is it worth the while of any University to increase its expenditure and appoint a special officer for the inspection of these schools. On

the other hand, nothing will be lost by taking advantage of the services of the Education Department. In the case of colleges, their affiliation rests with the Syndicate, but as the Syndicate should have the fullest information before admitting an institution to affiliation, it is suggested that the necessary information, as to why the new institution is required and what are the guarantees of its financial stability, may be obtained through the Director of Public Instruction or some other competent authority who, we suppose, may possibly be the Registrar himself, if the Syndicate so chooses.

No reasonable objection can be urged against the recommendations that every affiliated college should have a governing body, that it must employ an adequate staff and provide its students with tutorial assistance, that its students should have access to a library and to laboratories, that it should be decently and suitably housed, and that students should be required to reside with parents or guardians, or in a hostel under University or College supervision. But for a variety of reasons we cannot commend the proposal that "the Syndicate of each University should, in consultation with the managers, prescribe a minimum rate of fees for the colleges affiliated to it, after taking into consideration local circumstances, the demand for higher education, and the ability of the class of students who are likely to attend the institution to pay adequate fees for such instruction." Every one of the factors enumerated here is a variable quantity, and we do not know in what part of India every college is attended by a special class of students. If this general rule is so very indefinite, it is qualified by a no less indefinite provision that "the University should deal specially with the case of colleges which are maintained by rich benefactors on condition that no fees are charged, or the promoters of which are induced by religious, patriotic or philanthropic motives to give their services as teachers free or for very small remuneration, with the express object of reducing the fees payable by students to the lowest point possible." Who will have the hardihood to assert that there is no patriotism in modern India, and who will undertake to determine whether it has been the first or the last resource of a Professor? A Syndicate which is required to institute so many inquiries, about the income of students and about "local circumstances," whatever that may include, can never do justice to its task. We notice that a review of the Syndicate's decision fixing a

minimum rate of fees is not among the things forbidden to the Senate. But what will confound a dozen will still more confound a hundred. A University may very well interfere to protect one affiliated college against the malpractices of another, and what is called "underselling" may sometimes exist in an objectionable form; a power may, therefore, be given to the University to put down the evil, where it really exists, by such means as it may consider desirable. But interference in the fee arrangements of every college can be justified only on the supposition that no college can be trusted to work on honest principles. We doubt, however, whether underselling, properly so called, will be possible when the University sees that every college is adequately equipped and efficiently managed. One reason why the fixing of a minimum fee is recommended seems to be that no poor student of but ordinary ability should be tempted to follow a University course. One fails to see how, from the University's point of view, wealth makes up for lack of ability. It may be an evil from the standpoint of the State to educate a large number of poor boys above their station, but it is for the State to enquire why they flock to the Universities, and to devise a remedy. It has been asked whether in the present condition of India it is desirable to demand from the colleges even such a degree of efficiency and equipment as will compel them to raise the fees and shut their doors against poor boys. We believe certain educationists in Bengal are of opinion that a scale of Rs. 4 for the first and second years' classes, and Rs. 5 for the third and fourth years' classes may answer in that Province. The Commissioners, however, have not stated what in their opinion would be a reasonable degree of efficiency to be insisted on at the present stage of educational progress, and whether it would be possible to conduct a college efficiently, charging less than half the fees levied in the Presidency College at Calcutta. Efficiency must be progressive, and whether a University demands too much or too little will have to be seen when the Universities begin to exercise their powers of supervision and lay down their rules of affiliation. It is proposed that members of the Syndicate should make it a practice to visit the colleges within their jurisdiction and that the Syndicate should have power to order a formal inspection of an affiliated college at any time. In the opinion of the majority of the Commissioners it is undesirable that the

decisions of the Syndicate in regard to affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges should be reviewed in the Senate. This seems extraordinary when it is remembered that the Commission administers a rebuke to the Madras University for having delegated to the Syndicate even the power of admitting private students to the F. A. and B. A. examinations. One would have thought that the affiliation or disaffiliation of a college was a far more serious question than the admission or non-admission of a private student to an examination.

Coming, lastly, to the measures tending to elevate the standard of University teaching, we notice that the percentage of pass-marks at the Matriculation examination is to be raised to 40 per cent. in English and 35 per cent. in each of the other subjects. The Madras University has already adopted these high percentages, while the other Universities are content with 33 per cent. in English and 25 per cent. in other subjects. At the Matriculation examinations last year, 19.2 per cent. of the candidates were successful in Madras, 32.6 per cent. in Bombay, 53.9 in Calcutta, 35.2 in Allahabad and 50.9 in the Panjab. It is calculated that if the higher percentage in English had been required last year there would have been 1,400 or 42.5 per cent. fewer passes in Calcutta. The result of the change will, therefore, be a considerable decrease in the number, though an improvement in the quality, of undergraduates in the college classes. The Madras University has not been accused of aiming a blow at higher education, and we may extend the same charity to the Universities Commission, so far at least as this recommendation is concerned. There is no proposal to raise the percentage of marks for the other examinations. It is not clear whether in the opinion of the Commissioners, the standard of the other examinations is already sufficiently high. A most noticeable feature of the Report is, that it lays down for the several Arts and Science examinations, a uniform scheme of studies to be adopted at all the Universities. The Commission must have taken considerable pains to evolve the scheme, and we will acknowledge that it is one of the most excellent schemes that could be devised. Yet we are not prepared to believe that it is so very perfect that no variation of it can with any advantage be tried anywhere in India. It is proposed that no text-books in English ought to be prescribed for

the Entrance examination, while they seem to be indispensable for the higher examinations in Arts. Will the interests of education suffer if any University wish to try the experiment of setting two papers in English, one in text-books and the other in general English, and requiring a minimum of 40 p. c. marks in each of the papers ? It is proposed that a classical language, and not a vernacular, should be prescribed for the Intermediate and B.A. courses. In Southern India, while a knowledge of Sanskrit would be extremely useful for an adequate understanding of the higher vernacular works, the highest scholarship in Sanskrit will not by itself enable a man to understand the simplest Purana. Will the Madras University be foolish if it reduces the number of text-books at present prescribed, and introduces the study of Sanskrit in their stead, especially because it is proposed that vernacular composition should be made compulsory up to the B.A. examination ? Then again, it so happens that the scheme devised by the Commission makes it perfectly possible for one to take the M.A. degree without having ever been introduced to a study of even the elements of physical science. Why should it not be open to a University to alter the courses of study in such a way as to make room for science, as a compulsory subject at some stage or other ? The Commission does not even suggest alternative courses of study for the Universities to adopt whichever they may individually prefer. This stereotyping of the courses of study seems to be highly objectionable. The idea underlying it—that there should not be an undue degree of divergence between the curricula prescribed at the several Universities and the standards adopted by them—has, however, much to commend in it. Perhaps it may serve the purpose which the Commission has had in view, if the Universities are required to revise their courses of study in the light of the scheme proposed by the Commission, and, if any University should be inclined to deviate from it, to adopt a variation after consultation with Syndicates of other Universities. A similar inter-academic consultation, by correspondence, with the Syndicates of other Universities whenever a University wishes to change its scheme of studies in future, may ensure the necessary degree of uniformity without sacrificing elasticity, while it will be justified by the mutual recognition of degrees and certificates which is recommended by the Commission. No courses of study are laid down for

Law, Medicine and Engineering. In connection with this last subject, it is laid down that "great care should be taken to provide similar courses and to equalise the standards in the different Universities." The *modus operandi* is not suggested: perhaps the method employed in the case of Engineering may be adopted in other cases also. The subject of the study of Law has been dealt with in a somewhat remarkable fashion. The Commission has "little to say" about the courses of instruction, and the only fault which is found with law graduates is that "*sometimes* they lack the power to apply their knowledge to the case before them"—a defect which should be cured by experience in the practice of the profession. The remedy proposed is the establishment of a central school of Law at each of the Universities: we suppose the Native States will not be precluded from having Law Schools of their own. There may be a central school, but why the local Law classes and Law departments must disappear, instead of being asked to improve, we cannot understand, unless it be that they cannot improve without improving themselves out of existence. The Madras Government has given up the system of morning and evening classes, and made its Law College a whole-time college. The Commission would apparently have the Government perpetuate a system which has failed and give up one which has not yet been tried.

The maxims laid down by the Commission as regards teaching and examinations are, as a rule, unexceptionable, if perhaps not novel; the only difficulty will be, as it always has been, to enforce them. The proposal to draw a sharp dividing line between school and college life, however, is as novel as it will be found unsuitable. It is required that school and college classes should not be in the same building and under the same management. As it is not likely that any manager will care to house the two classes of a second-grade college in a separate building, and provide a separate management for it, or perhaps for this and other reasons, the Commission recommends the abolition of all second-grade colleges. The advantages of this course are not explained, while some of the disadvantages are obvious, one of which is that private enterprise, as applied to the foundation of colleges, will be nipped in the bud; for a first-grade college, like everything else, must grow out of smaller beginnings, and has generally to pass through the chrysalis stage of a second-

grade college. The only serious consequence of some of its recommendations, which the majority of the Commissioners seem to have contemplated, is, that they will compel some of the cheaply worked colleges in Bengal to place themselves under the discipline of the Education Department or to cease to exist—a consummation which there seem to be people in that part of the world, who will regard with great complacency. But Bengal is not all India.

With certain exceptions, such as those we have indicated, the proposals of the Commission are, on the whole, calculated to place University teaching in India on a more efficient footing and to save the Universities from the stigma of being mere examining bodies, whose duties can be as well discharged by a Commissioner of Examinations appointed by Government as by bodies grandiosely styled Universities.

CURRENT EVENTS.

ONE defect in the machinery of the Indian Government, of which Lord Curzon has several times complained, is an amazing degree of differentiation of system and plan and, in many places, a lack of co-ordination. The Government is not unmindful of the duty of protecting and promoting the industries of the country and investigating its undeveloped resources by the application of the methods of modern science. It has, with this view, from time to time strengthened the several Departments where scientific research in its economic application may be carried on. It has recently added two practical mining experts to the Geological Department, a cryptogamic botanist to the Botanical Department, an agricultural chemist to the establishment of the Reporter on Economic Products, an entomologist to the staff of the Indian Museum, a skilled bacteriologist to the Civil Veterinary Department, an agricultural expert to the provincial staff of the United Provinces, and, finally, it has appointed an Inspector-General of Agriculture to guide and correlate the agricultural enquiries carried on throughout India. The independent development of the machinery of the various departments has led to the result that in the same field of research there are sometimes several investigators, but belonging to different departments. Partly with a view to remedy this defect, and partly also to enable the Government to obtain that information and advice in a simplified form, which will direct its attention from time to time to the needs of the country and the feasible means of supplying them, the Governor-General in Council proposes to constitute a Board of Scientific Advice comprising the heads of the Meteorological, Geological, Botanical, Forest, Survey, Agricultural and Veterinary Departments, together with such other scientific authorities as may from time to time be invited by the Government of India to serve upon it. It appears that the Royal Society have been good enough to offer their aid in furthering scientific work in India, and their invaluable advice and assistance will be freely invoked by the Board. The new Board will receive and discuss the proposals of each departmental head in regard to the programme for investigation in his department,

and where inter-departmental co-operation is necessary, it will advise as to the lines on which mutual assistance should be given and the department to which the inquiry should primarily appertain. It will, no doubt, submit to Government every year a brief review of the results obtained in all lines of scientific investigation. The operations of each department will thus be quickened, and we ought to expect more beneficial results to the economic welfare of this country than have perhaps hitherto flowed from the activities of the scientific advisers of Government.



The Indian representatives at the Coronation have most of them returned with feelings which may best be described in H. H. the Aga Khan's words. "The Indian representatives," said he, "from the greatest chief to the humblest soldier, will return with a prouder sense of British citizenship than they have ever possessed. The story of the glory and glamour of these wonderful days will filter down to every bazaar and village in the Eastern Empire, carrying a message of loyalty to the most ignorant." The Indian press has from time to time dwelt on the marked attention paid to the Indian guests, from His Majesty the King-Emperor downwards. In a letter addressed by eleven of them to the Lord Mayor of London, they acknowledge that "wherever we have gone and in whatever circumstances, we have been received with extreme cordiality and friendship." Her Majesty the Queen was gracious enough to wear at the Coronation a dress sent to her from India, and has since desired Lady Curzon to make it known how proud she was to wear it. The only unpleasant feature that would have marred the beauty of the story, by discussions among men of pounds, shillings and pence, has now been removed by the announcement that the expenses incurred in England on account of the guests are to be paid out of the British Exchequer.



In India the Government is busy making preparations for the ensuing Delhi Durbar. It will be on a grander scale than the Durbar of 1877. Opportunity will be taken of it to introduce noblemen and other guests of India and Europe to an Art Exhibition of astonishing range, variety and beauty. The Viceroy told the world the other day that hundreds of thousands of Indian workmen and artisans are receiving full employment and good wages in preparing for this Durbar. We may go to any town or even village in India, where a native Art Industry exists, and has perhaps hitherto languished, and, we are told, we shall find the coppersmiths and silversmiths, the carvers in wood and ivory and stone, the enamellers and painters and lacquerers hard at work. The shade of Akbar will hide its diminished head, and India will surpass herself in splendour,

Exclusive of the 4 lakhs devoted to the Arts Exhibition and the 8½ lakhs provided for the troops, the Durbar, it has been estimated, will cost the Imperial Government 26½ lakhs. Including the expenditure which the local Governments will be called upon to incur, the great ceremony may cost about 40 lakhs of rupees, of which, it is expected, the greater part will be reimbursed. Considering the income of the Government of India, and the scale of expenditure adopted at domestic ceremonies in the East, this does not seem to be extravagant, at least according to Eastern standards. But that mean science of the West, yclept Political Economy, has made the Eastern imagination so timid that the mention of "lakhs" in connection with unproductive ceremonies is apt to take our breath away. The Viceroy has, however, put heart into our alarmed countrymen.



An event which interests not only every Egyptologist, but every lover of antique art, took place some time ago, which calls for more than a passing notice. Mon. Maspero, the famous antiquarian scholar, had all the treasures in Gizeh Museum removed to the new one built at Cairo. Huge sphinxes, grim statues of Pharaohs and Ramasses in pink and grey granite, heavy sarcophaguses and gigantic stelæ were to be seen on railway trucks, slowly and with infinite care emigrating from the old museum where they had remained for years. The first removal took place as far back as twelve years ago, when the collections which were at Boulact since Narieth had inaugurated them in 1869, were taken by water to Gizeh and laboriously carried or dragged from the left bank of the Nile to the galleries. But, since then, gigantic pieces had been added to these collections and made the new removal much more difficult. Besides, the numerous electric cars which ply every twenty minutes between the museum and the rivers, on their way from Cairo to the Pyramids, made the passage from the gate of the gallery to the bank dangerous at once for the passengers in the cars and for the antiquities. So it was decided to have the light things only conveyed by water, and all the others by railway. From December 1899 preparations were made to connect the old and new museums with the railway lines from Gizeh to Cairo and from the central stations in Cairo to the barracks of Kars-in-Nil, close to which the new building stands. As early as in the beginning of 1900, workmen were busy making the cases, boxes, etc., necessary for the packing of the 35,000 objects which form the present collection. The difficult part of it was to go on with the packing whilst leaving open the gallery which, being the pride of all Egypt, attracts every one and which no foreigner would own not having seen; so that the chief rooms could not be closed before the middle of the summer when all the foreigners are away and even the European residents have left Cairo. They began with the less frequented

rooms, and little by little the work was done. Four natives and two Europeans proceeded with the packing for twenty months, under the superintendence of Mon. Barsanti. Great care was to be taken; at the last moment many a stelæ was discovered to be spoilt by the damp of certain rooms; the sarcophaguses of the Ammon priests with their bright gaudy colours and their quaint decorations were found to need repair if they were to be saved from falling to pieces during the removal. However, in November 1901, more than 500 cases of all sizes were ready; nothing was left in the place but a few huge stelæ or statues too heavy to be packed in that part of the collection, jewels, medals, mummies, which were considered sufficient to satisfy the unenlightened curiosity of ordinary tourists. Meanwhile, the architects, joiners and masons had finished the rooms in the new building; in December, the ground-floor and the first floor, where the glass cases had been sent beforehand, were ready to receive the collections. Between the 20th and the 25th of February an experiment was made with some pieces—mummies of the Ammon priests, sarcophaguses, etc., which required as much care and celerity as possible to prevent damage from exposure to the sun and the open air. It succeeded; 300 pieces in all were soon in the large south gallery on the first floor, and the real removals by water began on the 9th of March without anybody in Cairo or Gizeh being apprized of it beforehand for fear of indiscreet curiosity. Sixty porters, under the careful direction of Mon. Barsanti, carried the cases to a barge on the Nile, and by the 11th of March every one of them was in its own room. Five days later, the two curators, MM. Brugschbey and Daressy opened them and began to arrange every object in its own place. At the end of the month, all the rooms on the first floor were visitable, and nothing valuable had been broken. Now, by the 1st of April, it was time to use the railway conveyance for the bigger pieces. Every six days up to now, a cargo is taken down from Gizeh to Cairo, first huge Sait sarcophaguses, then a dozen or so of Colossi, Theban and Ethiopian stelæ, statues, stone coffins, etc. When they reach the new museum, a crane standing at the west gate, seizes the masses in the trucks and gently puts them down on Decanville platforms which wheel them to their respective places. Two hours are enough to bring a mass weighing twelve tons to its place. There, the joiners make a sock for it with thick strong planks and the carriers push it to the wall where it is to remain for years. Next November, when the tourists come back, the Gallery will be open and the catalogue printed, whilst the old Gizeh Museum will stand deserted, left to the sparrows and bats which used to haunt it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE NAMELESS HATH A VOICE."

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—Your contributor Artaxerxes apparently believes that there is either no Atma, or that it can express itself only by a bovine cry. He ought to have known that the ancestors of the Hindus and the Buddhists, who made OM their sacred symbol, were somewhat different, in point of spirituality, from the Negroes, to whose language and ideas, his guide and philosopher Massey has attached so much importance. I am afraid Artaxerxes has never heard the mystic Name of the Nameless, uttered by a true Yogi or Bhakt. Had he ever done so, he would never have started his bovine theory. I would say to him

There are more things in heaven and earth, Artaxerxes,
Than are dreamt of in Massey's philosophy ;

and one of the things not so dreamt of is what Tennyson beautifully expresses in his "Ancient Sage" :

If thou wouldst hear the Nameless, and wilt dive
Into the temple-cave of thine own self,
There, brooding by the central altar, thou
Mayst haply learn the Nameless hath a voice.

ARIEL.

18th August, 1902.

THE AGE AND THE MEANING OF OM.

AN EXPLANATION.

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—I trust you will see your way to publishing the following explanation of my last letter, which Artaxerxes has so unaccountably misunderstood. Deeply grateful as I am for Artaxerxes' courtesy, I would have been yet more grateful, had that respect shewn itself in a little more attention to my words.

Though an amateur, yet am I not so ignorant as to derive "OM" from English or even from Sanskrit, and the learned display, with which my supposed statement is refuted, is altogether needless. I suggested that the fundamental meaning of "OM" was not sexual triumph, but "being"—the same meaning that is seen in the words "asmi" "sum" "am," derived from it—derived from "om." I cannot conceive how I have been misunderstood. Broad vowels and slight consonants are characteristics of an old word, and the successive weakening of the vowels and the greater distinctness and complication of the consonants in my short list were enough to have shewn that I considered "om" the oldest word on that list, even if I had not called attention to the vowel weakenings.

* Next, I do not consider the "I am that I am" of the old Testament to be an oath (Artaxerxes' statement), though oaths of the kind he speaks of did and do exist; nor yet do I look on it as an "assertion of Unity in the godhead," (I suppose this is believed to be my view); but I hold it to be a name expressing the essence of the Deity, viz. "that which alone has true being"—"true being," in the fullest sense of the word.

The texts are Exodus iii. 13 and 14. "And Moses said unto God: Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, the God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say unto me, What is His name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I am that I am: and He said, thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: I AM hath sent me unto you," &c.

Confer Old Testament *passim* for other instances of names expressing the nature or essence of the person named, or of his special function in life.

Again, I nowhere *derive* or connect philologically the Semitic form of this name with the Aryan "om" or "am." This absurdity would not have been fathered on me, had Artaxerxes not begun with a misconception that must have filled him with contempt. I merely pointed out that

the idea of "Being," as the essence of Godhead, is one not confined to early Aryan philosophy, and, therefore, that *idea* is presumably a very ancient one. I fear Artaxerxes does not ascribe a sufficient antiquity to the human race. The oldest Veda—the Rig—in which "om" occurs, is not remote compared with the time when cries, not words, constituted the whole of speech.

Yet again, I have nowhere denied the antiquity of "om," but only the antiquity of the sex-reference of that word—of "om" as a mystic word in this sense. On this point I am still doubtful, though, I frankly confess, strongly drawn to Artaxerxes' view.

I still wish I could see as clear philological connection among the rest of his shower of examples and instances, as between "homa" and "soma." Should these links be found they would establish Artaxerxes' view beyond controversy; should they be shewn not to exist, this will as incontrovertibly confute his position. I trust these links will be supplied later on, because, though philology deals with the changes in fully developed languages, its laws are based on the physiology of the organs of speech, and are, therefore, quite as applicable (*pace* Artaxerxes) to those first clicks, and slides and vocalisations of early man, with which he says he deals, as with the process of their complication and evolution. Before this philology of inchoate language will have been systematised, the non-Aryan primitive languages of aboriginal India will have to be studied, as is being done by some with whom I have the honour to be in correspondence.

However, all Artaxerxes' examples are from formed languages, from Latin, Greek, Zend, Hebrew and Sanskrit, so that he ought not to object to the employment of philological tests as a check to his, at times, somewhat exuberant theorising.

Lastly, I do not, of course, hold that the absolute antiquity of the *idea* of "being" was prior to the emotion of sexual triumph, but I suggested that a more advanced race *may* have used its most sacred word "om," expressive of Essential Existence to sanctify sex relations, expressed, if Artaxerxes will have it so, by some similar sound, among a people more primitive than they—a race that was not yet ashamed. This is all that formed and recorded language can show, I fear.

As to whether early sacred writings have an esoteric sense or not, I know nothing and say nothing.

THE COMMON FAILING OF CONTROVERSIALISTS.

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—I have to thank you for the courtesy of letting me see Prof. Dobson's second letter with reference to my contributions on "Old Signs," and to apologise to the learned professor for having misunderstood his first letter published in the previous number of this Review. This is a common failing to which controversialists absorbed in their own particular theories must confess. On the other hand, I must add that a study of ancient Egyptian history would help largely to elucidate the subject.

ARTAXERXES.

Erratum.—In 5th line from the bottom of page 903, in the July number, for 'increase' read 'decrease.'

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THE INDIAN POLICE COMMISSION.

LORD CURZON'S Government has, with statesmanlike breadth of view, determined to give India another Police Commission. A voice from our newly-acquired colonies has lately attempted a kind of definition of "statesmanlike breadth of view." The people of Johannesburg say that they have postponed the meeting of their political association in deference to "Imperial" considerations, and ask that in recognition of their moderation their affairs should be looked at in Downing Street from the Colonial standpoint. The analogy may help us to understand the importance to India of a broad-minded Commission, but whether breadth of mind of the Johannesburg type is possible in this sublunary sphere of ours, is probably a question on which a cynic might have grave doubts.

On Indian questions a triple kind of broad-mindedness might almost be asked for. It is necessary, of course, to look at every question from the point of view of both the Government and the people. And, at the same time, those theorists who are usually denounced as trying to run impossible fads might claim a hearing on the ground that the people are not intelligent enough to know their needs, and that the Government can scarcely be expected to do so. We should probably look in vain for Imperialism in Johannesburg, or Colonialism in Downing Street. So the so-called "faddist" comes in as a man who has really thought out a *via media*, or *modus vivendi*.

In attempting to forecast the results of the Commission of 1902-3, we may usefully consider, first, why the previous experiment on this department of the Indian administration was so absolutely barren of results; secondly, whether the present Commission is working so as to give grounds for the hope that it will avoid the fiasco in which its predecessor ended; thirdly, how the general public, both in India and in Great Britain, can help in a task which is of the gravest possible moment to the largest portion of the British Empire.

First, then, let us briefly endeavour to discover the reasons for the absolute fruitlessness of the previous Commission. I was engaged in the work of district administration at the time the Commission finished its labours, and a long time afterwards, and the Police Department was the one which always engaged the lion's share of my attention, because of its *terrible* importance to the people—I can use no other word. I have also a natural liking for the subject of crime, its punishment, and still more important, its prevention, and have attempted to study the Police question in my travels in all parts of the world. It was my daily habit to converse for hours with the local Police officer in his own language (which I could speak as fluently as my own) as we rode together from one station to another. Though, of course, I soon abandoned my youthful dream of helping to establish an ideal and Utopian system, which should stamp out crime over the length and breadth of the Peninsula, and really justify our presence in India, I nevertheless discovered a good deal which seemed to show that such ideas are not, perhaps, so visionary and impossible as they may appear at first sight. My aim in these conversations was always to try and discover the character of the officer, and to appeal to his better nature.

I often met with individuals who seemed capable of rising to some conception of the responsibility of their office, of the glory and dignity of rising superior to its temptations, and becoming the protectors and benefactors, instead of the oppressors, of the people.

I mention this, partly to show what potentialities of good there may be in a body of men which it is too much the fashion to despise and condemn, and partly to show that I may claim some right to speak on the subject. As I spent a pretty good portion of my official existence, so to speak, in constant daily discussion of all the ins and outs of the present system, it would be strange, indeed, if I failed to discover at least some of its defects, and to perceive some possibilities of remedy. All that I ask for my proposals is that they should be given a fair hearing, and not condemned merely as the utterances of one not entitled to speak *ex cathedra*.

To return to the results of the last Police Commission: I am not at all sure that it did not even aggravate the evils it attempted to cure. The whole of India is parcelled out into Police Circles,

which form, so to speak, the units of administration, and I have always thought them far too small. Decentralisation has been carried *beyond the limit of honesty and efficiency* (a phrase which I will endeavour to amplify and elucidate farther on) and with disastrous results. I cannot help thinking that the reforms to which the Commission led up have, at least in Northern India, accentuated and increased the evil.

There was a promise, too, that the fatal mistake of relying too much upon statistical tests should be rectified, which has been very far from fulfilled.

In attempting to trace the causes of failure, what seems to me the principal of these is one not pleasant to contemplate. I cannot believe that the people generally thought that we were in earnest in our desire for reform.

It is painful to have to admit it, but I do most sincerely doubt if the native witnesses had confidence in the *bona fides* of the Commission. For some reason or another the people have got it into their heads that we regard the police as an instrument for keeping them in subjection, and that we should unfavourably view any reforms which would curb their power. These suspicions are only too natural under the circumstances, though a sympathetic and broad-minded Government like that of Lord Curzon may be relied on to disarm them to a certain extent.

I think the native witnesses were not reassured, as they should have been, and convinced, if such a thing were possible, that we desired to hear the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, however distasteful. And I think that something more was necessary to direct the minds of witnesses to the points on which evidence was desired, and to give them time to think over matters, find out the facts, and mature opinions.

An informal Conference in every district, at which pensioned officers of all departments would be the most useful assistants, might help to prepare evidence for the Commission, and prevent its ending as its predecessor did.

Next, let us enquire whether there is any reasonable ground for hoping that the present investigation is being carried on on lines calculated to avoid these and other mistakes. I cannot say that the outlook appears to me to be very hopeful. In the first place, the

want of interest displayed by the public and the press is most discouraging. The editors of all Indian journals ought surely to have opened their columns to this most important subject, and attempted to thresh out, and thoroughly discuss all the numerous subordinate questions connected with this great problem of Police Reform. On the one hand, one comes across an occasional article in an Anglo-Indian journal, of the usual optimistic type, which seems to suggest that if it cannot quite be trusted to get right of itself, Police administration only requires a few little measures to set it on the right path—the old fatal creed of *tinkering*. On the other hand, you read what their opponents call *hysterical diatribes* by writers who live among the people and know all about the “little ways” of our turbaned friends. The *via media*—the conciliation of opposite poles of thought, we seek for in vain.

I think the “hysterical” people are wrong, because they seem so hopeless of reform, and because they fail to point out that the frightful state of things which they most truly paint only exists where supervision is lax. The other side think they mean that it is always so, and with proof to the contrary condemn their opponents as romancers. But here they are wrong also : they ought to have known the Oriental character better and have seen that our task is to devise a system under which such things can never take place, or take place as rarely as possible.

Of the constitution of the Commission I am not prepared to speak. I only know that the omission from its ranks of those who knew the country and the people intimately was the principal cause of its predecessor's failure.

Thirdly, the general public can, I think, materially help the good work by suggestions which it will be the task of the responsible officials to pronounce practicable, or the reverse.

I still adhere to the opinion, expressed in my last article on this subject, in *East & West* for February, that the real reform is to have an Imperial service to whom alone should be entrusted the dangerous power of investigation. If you must have a Provincial service, confine it to the comparatively safe functions of watch and ward, patrol, and miscellaneous police duties. Allow no enquiries against the will of the sufferer, and then only in the most heinous cases, such as murder and robbery with violence.

Accept the measure of truth contained in what you call "hysterical diatribes," and bear it steadily in mind, that unless under a supervision which it is very difficult to arrange for, the police will look upon every case they get hold of as a means of levying blackmail. Under a system of unfettered statistical tests, they will go further and connive at, and even create, crime. Remember, then, that it is far more important to prevent the police from doing harm than to aim at an impossible efficiency in their work. It is not because a policeman is a natural villain, but because he is a human being, and in India his human nature is Oriental, that you have to work him under a system which will minimise his powers for evil.

When a crime has been committed, I would say leave it alone unless you are nearly sure of punishing it promptly and efficiently. Redouble your efforts against the criminal classes, and put down the offence as a regrettable incident of which you will try and prevent the recurrence. What possible good do you do, if in your so-called "working out" of a crime, you risk the conviction of innocent persons, and add to the sufferings of the injured person? You are able to report, for the delectation of people foolish enough to be pleased by such things, that "no effort was spared by the police to bring home the offence to its actual perpetrator." But in this process the people have been needlessly oppressed, and the police trained into habits of oppression. Take away their opportunities, and the police will lose the power of oppression; it will become atrophied. Pay them well, and they will help you in *preventing* crime, their true function.

Besides, you cut away the whole foundation of their malpractices by checking enquiries. If they are not allowed to investigate, of what use is it to connive at, or create crime? Until the authorities get it into their heads that the whole system of police investigation does more harm than good, that it would be far better for all complainants to go at once to a court instead of to a police station, I fear there will be no efficient reform. Under certain circumstances, which I refer to below, a police officer might be applied to, but not in his executive functions.

I still adhere, also, to my opinion that the big cities of India want special treatment, as the centres of police maladministration and crime. A special section of the Commission's Report will, it is to

be hoped, be devoted to this subject. The general public has probably but the faintest idea of what goes on in these big cities, and it is desirable that it should be enlightened on the subject. Similar revelations came like a shock upon the public nerves, when the curtain was lifted in New York, and the misdoings of Tammany police were unveiled.

But even should the Government refuse those drastic changes which so many of us think can alone purify the police, there are many subordinate reforms which might be introduced without a total *bouleversement* of existing conditions. But they all aim at the one thing—minimising the opportunities of levying, and the necessities for paying, blackmail. For be it well understood, there are crowds of police officers who would not levy, unless the system under which they work compelled them to pay, blackmail.

There is one reform which ought perhaps to have been treated of above. But it is so obvious, though I will not say easy, that I cannot help including it in the list of things which it is not too sanguine to hope for from the present movement. This will explain, a little more in detail, what I meant above, by "decentralisation beyond the limit of honesty and efficiency."

We have not done this in the case of judicial administration, we have not given every little group of fifty villages or so a Court of Justice, because we knew that the officer presiding over such a court could not be trusted. But we have done this in the far more dangerous line of police administration, and, of course, with disastrous results. Surely, it is not too late to correct so patent a blunder. Instead of ten dishonest men, have one man, I will not say honest—but whose pay and position will tend to keep him so. For such an office you will be able to recruit from a far higher stratum of society than at present.

The ill-paid office which is now the unit of administration, often attracts to its ranks the very dregs of society: and the popular idea is that an honest man accepting office must either succumb to its temptations, or be hounded out of the force on a false charge. I would invest the highly paid official, whom I would constitute the new unit of administration, with the powers of a magistrate, and allow him to decide on the spot all trivial cases—these are the only circumstances under which I would allow a police enquiry at all. I

would also concede the entire patronage of the office to the new Inspector, or Commissioner, or whatever he might be called. As he would be responsible for everything that occurred, he would take care not to appoint anybody who would bring his administration into discredit.

But I do not lay stress upon these personal opinions, if the objects in view can be obtained in any other way. One of the most important of these objects is to dispense with the over-inspection which is the principal cause of the levy of blackmail and consequent demoralisation of the force. The "unit of administration" is so untrustworthy that he has to be inspected and supervised in a variety of ways in order to keep him straight. I might have added to that portion of this article, which treats of the working of the present Commission, a few remarks on this grave subject of blackmail. The whole system of illegal payments wants rudely dragging out into the light of day, before any permanent good can be effected. Here, especially, the native witnesses want some encouragement and bolstering up to tell the truth. What we want to know is, how much an average circle officer has to pay to the various people who inspect him. Under the system, as I know it, he would probably have two Inspectors, his ordinary visiting officer, and the Headquarters Inspector who controls transfers, &c. Then he would have the official subordinates of two departmental controlling officers, and perhaps their private servants to reckon with, as well as those of the district staff. In addition to this a recent "reform" has added to the number the Divisional Commissioner, in reckless disregard of the danger of increasing controlling agencies.

We want to know what a really honest and strong man (there are such in the force, and bitterly do they complain of a system which almost forces them to do wrong) would find it absolutely necessary to pay, and what an unscrupulous one, who was utilising his opportunities of illicit gain to the full, would find it worth his while to pay, in order to persevere unchecked in his evil courses. It cannot be too often insisted on, that this question of blackmail is at the root of the evil, and until it is fairly faced, no improvement can be looked for.

Money has to be made somehow to meet this constant drain, and the only means which lies ready to the hand of the police is dalliance with crime and the criminal classes. The enemies of

society are also utilised to provide results in the shape of "working out" and other demands of an office-devised system which ignores the actual conditions of the country. Of course, no reform can be of lasting value which does not abolish the present system of "working out" cases by means of the criminal classes.

The disreputable hangers-on of the police stations must be relegated to their proper home—the gaol—if they refuse to abandon their evil courses.

If it is contended that the police must and will make money out of their profession, I can conceive a system under which this could be done, without inflicting upon the people the terrible evils that they suffer in the present day. Let the police devote all their energies to an organised crusade against crime and the criminal classes, and they could soon have the entire gang of incorrigibles in gaol, while those who are capable of reform would perforce take to an honest livelihood. The people might then be willing voluntarily to pay the same amount as is now extorted from them, as an equivalent for the peace, security and contentment, which they would enjoy. I absolutely refuse to believe that such a consummation is hopeless in India. Search the history of Indian administration, and you will find that whatever object has been recognised by the authorities as of paramount importance, and one to be obtained at all costs, that object has, sooner or later, been accomplished.

Let the police force and the people thoroughly understand that professional crime is to be stamped out, and stamped out it will be. At present it is not understood that we have made up our minds upon this matter: we are thought to aim at a theoretical perfection, a system which provides matter for blue-books and reports, a certain percentage of crime on a certain population, and a certain amount of so-called success in its detection and punishment.

I should not be surprised if the popular view were that we want the police as our own instruments, and that if they were to perform their proper work—the stamping out of crime—the apology for their existence would disappear.

As I have several times expressed the opinion, that an organised campaign against the criminal classes is not an impossible or difficult thing, it seems necessary to indicate the lines on which such a campaign might be organised. The analogy of military operations will

supply us with what we want, and the lessons of the South African War will emphasise the disasters which always result from the neglect of sound principles of action. We commenced the war, now happily ended, in ignorance of the numbers of our opponents, and of the munitions of war with which they were supplied. The catastrophes that ensued are matters of history and need not be enlarged upon. Has there ever been an attempt made, in Indian administration, to catalogue professional criminals for the whole Peninsula? Has the principle ever been recognised that police administration must be pronounced a failure, unless the result is the decrease, at least, of violent and premeditated crime? On the contrary, it seems to me that Indian police reports indicate that the satisfactory thing is to keep figures normal.

I know I shall be charged with Utopian and visionary ideas for saying so, but I am perfectly convinced that if the services and the people once get it into their heads that we shall be satisfied with nothing but decrease, the trend will be in that direction.

Let it be the first object of the authorities to prepare accurate lists of all individuals dangerous to society in every district. Let the whole force of the administration, the magisterial and other branches, and not only the police, be devoted to ensuring the accuracy of these lists. I have seen, in actual working, the most satisfactory results ensue from the mere formation of such a list, without any further action. The criminal classes began to think that the game was up, and became far more cautious in their operations.

Of course, there was no co-operation in adjoining districts, and so the enemy had only to retreat to places where the administration was more lax. If co-operation over the whole of India could be arranged for, there would be no place for the professional criminal to go to, and he would soon fall a victim to the justice he has so long defied.

Let there be an annual Conference of police officers from all parts of India, to compare the work done, and thus secure co-operation in the campaign against crime. If we can revive the old village communal institutions, and allow them to appoint their own watchmen, we shall have supplied the most important link in our chain of operations. Village responsibility for crime within its borders could

certainly be enforced to some extent, through a body representative of the whole community.

There is one more reform, for which I do not anticipate much favour, but of the necessity for which I am most firmly convinced. Whenever you have a police officer who has a bad reputation, get him out of the Force at once, whether he has put himself within the grasp of the law or not. Boldly recognise that a police officer of evil repute is a man so dangerous to the public that his case cannot be dealt with on ordinary principles.

If you can do nothing else, as a last resource pension him off; the amount of his pension will be a burden to the public of infinitesimal proportions, compared with that which he imposes while in office. Let us have no more of the directions to get good work out of a dishonest officer—this is far too dangerous a game to play in India. It is the easiest thing in the world to find out who are the notorious scoundrels.

The greatest sycophants, those who uniformly praise every official under the belief that we do not like them to be blamed, will betray by a certain mannerism their real opinions and feelings with reference to such persons. There will be only one or two in each district to get rid of, and their removal will bring about a most satisfactory improvement in the feelings of the people. At present the popular idea is, I fear, that we are callous as to the infinite evil wrought by these *mauvais sujets* of our administration. These scoundrels are far too clever, as a rule, to bring themselves within reach of punishment; their crimes are such as are never committed before witnesses; and if any one is bold enough to accuse them, the evidence is certain to be false, and it is more than likely that the charge will be so also. It is surely unnecessary to say more than this to shew that such cases require exceptional treatment.

I will conclude this article by an attempt to tabulate briefly the matters which will still remain problems of police administration, even supposing that reforms on the lines indicated had been introduced with a fair measure of success. First and foremost, there will remain the problem of how to attract the best men to the service, and I might add, how to get the best work out of them when there. I fear our present system, while certainly not attracting the best men, tends to their deterioration rather than to their

improvement when enlisted. A subsidiary problem is, how to make it to the interest of the Force to remain honest. We must recognise the human nature which is unfortunately to be found in policemen as well as in other individuals of the same species. The ideal is, of course, to make each deviation from the path of duty tend slowly but surely to the officer's ruin, while each item of good work tends equally to his profit. One of the evils of the present system is that officers who have been honest are not rewarded, especially if they fail in "smartness" or some of the other qualifications of "departmental" excellence. There should be special pensions for honest workers. A Training College, on University lines, would probably help in bringing about the state of things we desire.

Thirdly, there is the question of how to secure co-operation over the whole of India. Fourthly, there is the problem of the reform of the professional criminal, for this should always be our first object, rather than punishment. That reform is possible, I personally know, for I have seen it brought about. Fifthly, there is the problem of village responsibility for crime.

Is it too much to hope that well-wishers of India will think and talk over these questions, write articles upon them, and thus do what they can to facilitate their practical solution?

Surely, another Police Commission will not be allowed to dissolve without some definite effort on the part of all India to obtain some practical measure of reform. There is not an individual in the whole continent, who is not interested in the subject—all come into contact with the police at some period of their lives. It is a libel on the Indian people to say that they prefer a corrupt to an honest police force. Let them rouse themselves from their apathy, and show by results, that when they are consulted as to what should be done, they can propose practical methods of getting honestly served, and see that they are successfully carried out.

C. W. WHISH.

OLD ENGLISH CHRISTMAS FARE.

Then the brawn and roast beef, and the turkey and chine,
The pudding, mince pie and plumb porridge divine,
The stingo, the lambswool, the nuts and the wine
Shall make old Christmas merry.

THAT was what did it. That was the song—printed in queer, curly-tailed, plump-bodied characters, and set to a rollicking sixteenth-century tune styled “Greensleeves”—which first aroused in us an uncontrollable curiosity on the subject of old English Christmas fare. It was not at all strange that it should have done so.

We confess at all times to a profound interest in culinary matters. The rumoured appearance of a hitherto unknown bacillus does not awaken in the breast of the scientist a keener desire for investigation and research than that which stirs us at the mention of a new ragout or an untried sauce; and in this particular instance our pet subject was made doubly alluring by the wall of mystery which surrounded it.

Was “stingo” a beverage, a side dish or a *hors d'œuvre*? What were the ingredients of “plumb porridge”? And what toothsome dainty was indicated by the word “lambswool”? On these and on many kindred points we longed for information and we longed in vain. Mrs. Beeton was mute all along the line, and when we ventured to question the presiding genius of our own kitchen, that virtuous matron assumed an attitude so distinctly hostile that we turned and fled incontinently from the wrath to come.

Clearly there was but one course open to us. We must repair for enlightenment to that blessed fount of universal knowledge, the British Museum, and here we presently found ourselves surrounded by “many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore.” Very different these ancient cookery books from the gaudy, gilded volumes which are turned out to-day by the ton. Their binding is of

sober calf, their illustrations display a fine contempt for perspective, their phraseology smacks of the Bible. Above all, their yellow pages breathe a spirit of wholesale prodigality such as makes the imagination reel.

Everybody knows that the fine old English gentleman was a robust animal. Some there are who hint that one of his chief pleasures was derived from dining not wisely but too well ; and really, if these old recipes are anything to go by, his carrying capacity must have been such as to make a British schoolboy turn pale with envy. Your mediæval chef says : " Take a side of beef," or " Procure a fat wether," with as little concern as a present day housewife would display over ordering a brace of pigeons or a pound of steak !

A treatise by some seventeenth century Ude or Soyer, which lies open before us as we write, gives several menus suitable, apparently, for a small dinner party, and as we scan the amazing list we can positively hear the stout oaken boards groan beneath such an embarrassment of riches. Here is a sample :

Brawn and mustard.

Capons stewed in whitebroth.

A chine of biefe and a breast of mutton boyld.

Pyes of fine mutton.

Three green geese in a dish.

A swan, sauce chadell. A pigge.

A double ribbe of biefe roasted, sauce, pepper and vinegar.

A loyne of veale or a breast.

Half a lamb or a kid.

Two capons roasted wine sauce.

Two pasties of fallow deere in a dishe.

A custard. A dishe of leaches.

And this, mind you, is only the first course ; the second and, fortunately, the last, lightly enumerates such trifles as half a dozen rabbits and a like number of chickens, pasties of red deere, a pecko with wine sauce, teale, woodcocks, partridges, " fesantes " and similar wildfowl by the score, and winds up with tartes, fritters and mutton pies *ad libitum*.

But enough of generalities. Let us get to the matter in hand. Let us discuss those dishes which were once considered especially

sacred to the Christmas festival. As you are doubtless aware, the joints which we regard as the *pièces de résistance* of the Yuletide feast (the turkey and the sirloin) occupied a very subsidiary place in the estimation of our lusty progenitors. Such viands were in their opinion mere kickshaws to be toyed with in the intervals of more serious work. In the Middle Ages there was one dish and one only which was deemed worthy to take the first place on the Christmas board, and that was the head of the forest brawler. A solemn ceremonial it was too, the serving of this regal dainty.

Would you know exactly how it was done ? Then suppose we step into this hall, whose spacious doors are now "flung open wide to vassal, tenant, serf and all," and watch its entry. It is a good thing we are in the spirit only, for the great room is already so full that were we in the flesh we should feel in the way. None of the guests are here yet, but a crowd of servants, both men and maidens, are bustling about making the final preparations for their reception. Some are strewing clean rushes on the uneven stone-flagged floor ; some are running back and forth between buttery and kitchen bringing more and yet more eatables and drinkables to pile upon the table. Others again are adding fresh logs to the blazing heap which crackles and splutters (and perchance smokes a good deal) on the open hearth, and one grey-coated serving man has seized a glowing brand from out the fire and is setting alight the torches which are stuck round the hall in iron sconces. Not that we dine late, you must understand. It is not yet twelve o'clock, but the walls are so thick and the windows so narrow that the pale wintry sun leaves the interior in a state of semi-darkness, and without artificial light we can hardly see what we are doing. And truly nothing could set off the picturesque scene so well as these flaring flambeaux.

The ruddy flame gleams strangely on glittering weapons and savage trophies of the chase ; it flickers so on suits of armour that dead warriors seem to move and join in the revels of their children ; it plays hide-and-seek high up among the smoke-blackened rafters ; it glances roguishly on bright eyes and laughing lips ; above all, it lights up the well-scrubbed oaken board—that board which bears to-day "no mark to part the squire and lord" and seems as if it were trying to catch its own cheerful reflection in the glistening silver, steel and pewter.

And now, even as we watch, a jubilant fanfare of trumpets is heard in the distance, and at the signal a sudden hush falls on the busy throng. The joyous sounds draw nearer . . . they are close outside . . . the servants scurry to their places . . . the musicians in the gallery strike up a merry tune . . . and thus, to the strains of sweet minstrelsy, the door is flung open and major domo, heading in virtue of his office the stately procession of nobles, knights and ladies, enters bearing IT aloft and singing as he comes : -

Caput apri defero
 Reddens laudes domino
 The boar's head in hand bring I
 With garlands gay and rosemary
 I pray you all sing merrily
 Qui estis in convivio.

A right royal sight it is too, the head of that forest monarch,

His foaming tusks with some large pippin graced,
 Or midst those thundering spears an orange placed.
 Sauce like himself offensive to its foes,
 The roguish mustard, dangerous to the nose.

This latter condiment was, it would seem, absolutely indispensable. An old book of instruction for the proper service of the royal table says, "First set forth mustard with brawn ; take your knife in your hand and cut brawn in the dish as it lieth, and lay it on your sovereign's trencher, *and see there be mustard.*"

When it was that "the grim boar's head" first came into favour as a Christmas dish it would be hard to say ; probably it stood high in public esteem in the days when the ladies of this realm were agitated by rapid changes of fashion in woad and sea-shells ; but that its reign was a long one is certain. It ruled the roast indeed until the time of the Commonwealth, but in the efforts which were then made to suppress the Christmas altogether by Act of Parliament, it fell, along with many other toothsome morsels, into sad disrepute, and it never again recovered its old supremacy in the land. Still its memory continued to be cherished in some out-of-the-way nooks and corners of old England long after it had disappeared from the tables of the great. Thus until comparatively recent times it was customary for the lessee of the tithes of Horn Church, Essex, to provide each year a

boar's head which, after being dressed and decked with garlands in the orthodox manner, was wrestled for in a field adjoining the church. And even to-day the ancient dish appears in all its former splendour on the Christmas board at Queen's College, Oxford, albeit the modern collegians have to content themselves with the head of some domesticated porker in lieu of the caput of his savage progenitor.

The dish which ranked second in importance on the old English Christmas bill of fare was the peacock, and to prepare Argus for the table was a task involving no small amount of skill and trouble. The skin was first carefully stripped off with the plumage adhering and the bird was then roasted. When done and partially cool it was sewed up again in its feathers, and after having its beak nicely gilded was thus sent to table.

Sometimes the whole body was covered with gold leaf, and a piece of cotton, saturated with spirits placed in its beak and lighted before the carver commenced operations. This "food for lovers and meat for lords" was stuffed with spices and sweet herbs, basted with yolk of egg and served with plenty of gravy. And "plenty" was a strong term in those days as we may gather from the fact that on great occasions as many as three fat sheep were "bruised" to make enough sauce for a single peacock.

As you may suppose, this noble bird was not served by common hands. That privilege was reserved for the lady guest who possessed the longest pedigree and the greatest beauty. This honoured dame carried it into the hall to the sound of music, the other maids and matrons following in due order, and there set it down before the master of the house or his most distinguished visitor.

Sometimes the bird was served in a pie, in which case his plumed crest appeared above the crust at one end while at the other his tail was unfolded in all its glory.

Geese, capons, pheasants drenched with ambergrease, and pies of carps' tongues all helped to furnish the table in bygone Christmases; but there was one national dish—neither flesh, fish, fowl, nor good red herring—which, like the horn, was never absent. This was *furmante*, *frumant* or *furmety*, concocted, according to the most ancient formula extant, in this wise: "Take clean wheat and bray it in a mortar, that the hulls be all gone off, and seethe it till it burst, and take it up and let it cool: and take clean fresh broth, and sweet

milk of almonds or sweet milk of kine and temper it all ; and take the yolks of eggs. Boil it a little, and set it down and mess it forth with fat vension or fresh mutton." Venison was seldom served without this accompaniment, but *furmety*, sweetened with sugar, was a favourite dish of itself, the "clean, fresh broth" being omitted if a lord were to be the partaker.

Mince pies, under the name of mutton pies, were much esteemed as far back as 1596 ; but later authorities unite in recommending *neats' tongues* in place of mutton, the remaining ingredients being very similar to those employed by the up-to-date housewife. It would seem too that these delicacies were as popular in the sixteenth century as they are in the twentieth, for in Herrick's time it was held necessary to set a watch upon the pies on the night before Christmas, lest sweet-toothed thieves should be tempted to lay felonious fingers upon them. When a lady asked Dr. Parr on what day it was proper to begin eating mince pies he replied, "Begin on O sapientiâ (Dec. 16), but please to say Christmas pie, not mince pie ; mince pie is Puritanical." The learned doctor was, however, wrong on one of these points, and may have been on both. At no time in our history has the great winter festival been said to commence before Dec. 24th, and that the mince pie was so called long before the days of Praise-God Barebones and his prim brethren is certain, for Ben Jonson personifies it under that name in his "Masque of Christmas." Like enough, though, the word was obnoxious to Puritanical ears inasmuch as it would doubtless awaken memories of godless junketings indulged in by a preceding generation. As a merry rhymster of the time puts it :

All plums the prophet's sons deny,
And spice broths are too hot :
Treason's in a December pie
And death within the pot.

The mention of spice broth is, by the way, singularly apropos, for it brings us by an easy transition of thought to the subject of plumb porridge, that dish the ingredients of which furnish such astounding proof of the fact that in things culinary, as in things physiological, it is the fittest that survive. Really the way in which the strange and fearsome mess which delighted our forefathers has been strained and squeezed and

pressed into the pudding moulds of modern civilisation provides a study in evolution compared to which the transformation of the chrysalis into the butterfly grows pale and unconvincing. But you shall judge for yourself. Here is the mediæval recipe for the compounding of "plumb pottage."

"Take a leg of beef and a neck of mutton ; put 'em into four gallons of water and let 'em boil till all the goodness is out, then take it off the fire and strain out the meat from the broth, and when it's cold take off all the fat, and the next day make your broth, and grate the crumb of a sixpenny loaf and let it steep in a little of the liquor an hour. Then set your liquor on the fire and put in two nutmegs cut into quarters with some whole mace and four cloves ; break in a little cinnamon, put in a pound of currants, two pounds of raisins of the sun, and half a pound of dates stoned ; put in the bread with the fruit, and season to your taste, and put in a bottle of claret, a pint of sack, and tie up a few plumbs and prunes in a rag and plumb them, and grate a brown crust of bread round the brims of your dish, with some of the plumbs laid in heaps all round, here and there a heap." As to when the change from porridge to pudding actually took place we have no definite knowledge. Mrs. Frazer, "sole teacher of the art of cookery in Edinburgh," who published a treatise in 1791, thought it necessary to include a "plumb pottage" among her soups ; and Brand partook of a tureenful of "luscious plumb porridge" at the table of the royal chaplain in 1801, but this is the last recorded appearance of the once indispensable dish.

With regard to plum pudding we are even more hopelessly at sea. Rabisha gives a recipe in his "Whole Body of Cookery Dissected" (1675) for a pudding to be boiled in a cloth which bears a strong resemblance to our Christmas favourite, but he throws us off the scent by omitting to include it in his winter bills of fare, although "a dish of stewed broth, if at Xmas," figures therein. It shared honours with the porridge in Addison's time, however, for the *Tatler* tells us that "No man of the most rigid virtue gives offence by an excess of plum pudding or plum porridge, because they are the first parts of the feast." But the Mrs. Frazer above mentioned is the earliest culinary authority who describes it under its modern name, and the precise time at which it came into being remains as great a mystery as the Missing Link.

And finally, you ask, what of the potations which chiefly figured at the old English Christmas dinner? What liquids washed down such a noble array of solids? Well, truth to tell, this is too wide a subject to be dealt with in the space at our command. It would require a treatise to itself.

Our worthy forefathers may have been conservative to pigheadedness where their national customs were concerned, and bitterly opposed to innovations in the culinary department, but in the matter of liquor they never displayed any bigotry. As long as it was good no one heeded whence it came, and assuredly the thirteenth century carolist was expressing a very general sentiment when he sang:

Lordlings, Xmas loves good drinking,
 Wines of Gascoigne, France, Anjou ;
 English ale that drives out thinking,
 Prince of liquors old or new.
 Every neighbour shares the bowl,
 Drinks of the spicy liquor deep ;
 Drinks his fill without control
 Till he drowns his care in sleep.

DOROTHY HARDING.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF MYSORE.

THE new Council of Mysore effects a serious departure both from the Consultative Council of the late Maharaja Sree Chamarajendra Wadier and from the Executive Council of the Regency after his death. The departure from the latter is neither unexpected nor unfair. Otherwise, it would impose limitations on the exercise of sovereign right itself. The Regency, which necessitated a special constitution, having ceased to exist, the Executive Council would be out of place under His Highness. Its abolition, therefore, became imperative; but the modification of the Council of 1881, into a constitution like the present, introducing, as it does, changes of a radical nature, needs justification. With the accession of His Highness to full powers, the old Council of 1881 should have been revived in the ordinary course of things. His Excellency the Viceroy's speech of the 8th August contains an unqualified recognition of the success of the Rendition experiment and that of the Native Administration under Sir Seshadri Iyer and his successor. If this impression of the Viceroy's was correct, we should have expected that it would, as a logical necessity, have influenced him to continue the same administrative machinery as had contributed to such signal success in the past. But the new constitution is a great disappointment inasmuch as it possesses many objectionable features. It is as vague as it is defective; and in it is lost the simplicity of the administrative machinery of 1881 and 1895. Individuality has been stifled; and sources of dissension in the Council have been largely multiplied; while the complexity of the procedure prescribed by it favours delay in the despatch of business. It is proposed here to point out in some detail these and various other drawbacks of the new constitution of Mysore.

The vagueness of the rules of the newly formed constitution is discernible even to superficial readers. Firstly, the distinction

between matters falling under the schedule and outside it is not clearly expressed in clause 3, which runs as follows :—

Cases not falling under the schedule shall be dealt with by the Dewan in his capacity as the Senior Executive Officer of the State. In such matters the Secretary shall draft the necessary order and forward the papers to the Dewan through the Councillor or the Councillors in charge of the Department or Departments concerned for his or their information, and in order to afford him or them an opportunity for suggesting, if necessary, a modification in the method of disposal proposed.

The question, whether a Councillor can take any initiative in a matter falling under clause 3, necessarily arises. An answer in the negative renders the fact of a Councillor being in charge of certain portfolios meaningless ; while an affirmative answer takes away the force, if any, of the first sentence of clause 3, which provides that non-schedule matters shall be dealt with by the Dewan in his capacity of the Senior Executive Officer of the State, and further contracts to the lowest possible limits the distinction between schedule and non-schedule matters. Secondly, what constitutes a “ material difference of opinion ” in the case of non-schedule matters is left undefined. Clause 4 is further silent as to who has to decide the material or the immaterial nature of the differences. Supposing the Dewan has this power, as may be inferred from the fact that he has the power to choose one of the two alternative courses under clause 4, the question whether his decision is final will find no solution in the new rules. Thirdly, clause 2—which provides that cases falling under the schedule shall be submitted by the Secretary in the first instance to the Councillor in charge of the Department concerned, on whom will rest the initiative, entailing, where necessary, the preparation of a note for the consideration of the Council, and will then be placed before the Council and submitted with the opinion of the Dewan and the Councillors, for the orders of His Highness the Maharaja, by the Dewan—is not correctly worded ; for it appears to afford room for inferring that matters concerning the Dewan’s portfolios need not go before the Council even if they relate to schedule matters. The Dewan is certainly not a mere Councillor to whom alone clause 2 appears to be applicable. The words “ or the Dewan ” after Councillor in clause 2 would remove the apparent anomaly.

Another drawback in the present constitution is the objectionable combination of the office of Revenue Commissioner and that of the Councillor in one and the same individual. It seems to argue a neglect of the experience of mankind that nobody can expect from a party the unbending equity of a Judge. "The reason that judges are appointed is that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he himself is concerned. Not a day passes in which an honest prosecutor does not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself, be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice." Yet, under the new régime, the Revenue Commissioner proposes many things and supports them as Councillor in charge of the Revenue portfolio. As Councillor, he directs that certain papers shall go before the Revenue Commissioner in the first instance. It cannot be his fault if, in that capacity, he happens to enlarge the scope of the powers of the Revenue Commissioner. When there is such uncertainty in the interpretation of certain rules, unanimity of opinion or agreement between the first Councillor and the other members of the Council is hardly probable, nay even possible. Further, considering the scope and the nature of the work assigned to the Revenue Commissioner, the creation of an office so expensive and independent as his; does not appear to be necessary for a small state like Mysore. This is a conclusion which was arrived at after mature deliberation many years ago. Sir Seshadri Iyer's able minute on this subject is unassailable. The arguments against the appointment of a separate Revenue Commissioner for a small province like Mysore were put forward some time before 1891, when they received the concurrence of the Resident and the Government of India. One chief argument against such an appointment is that the executive head, namely, the Dewan of a Native State, should not lose touch with the District officers, and that between them there should be no intermediary like the Revenue Commissioner of the British Provinces. Circumstances have hardly undergone such a change since 1891 as to necessitate the appointment of a Revenue Commissioner. The Revenue Commissioner is created solely for performing sixteen classes of duties which relate to matters already reduced to uniformity; out of these sixteen powers no fewer than seven cannot be exercised by him without the general or special

sanction of the Government. The Regency and also the administration of His Highness were carried on successfully, as acknowledged by the Viceroy, mainly by reason of there having been no Revenue Commissioner to stand between the Dewan and the District officers.

The new constitution is defective, as it does not provide for an appellate authority over the decisions of the Revenue Commissioner, which, not having been declared to be final, are certainly appealable under section 210 of the Land Revenue Code. His appellate authority is clearly his "immediate superior authority" within the meaning of that section. Who that authority is does not admit of easy solution. The Dewan, as the "Senior Executive Officer of the State," may be supposed to be the immediate superior of the Revenue Commissioner, who is only a junior executive officer as compared with the Dewan. But the absence of any declaration to that effect, and the circumstance of certain orders of the Deputy Commissioners being appealable to a Council composed of two members, render such an interpretation somewhat doubtful. The Council cannot certainly hear such appeals, as the Revenue Commissioner is one of its members. Although the decisions of the Revenue Commissioner are non-schedule matters, still they have to be treated differently, as the Councillor in charge of the Revenue portfolio is the Revenue Commissioner himself. The Councillor in charge of the Revenue portfolio will naturally support all his decisions as Revenue Commissioner; and if the Dewan agrees with him, the matter is finally disposed of. If, on the contrary, any independent Councillor sits in judgment over the decisions of the Revenue Commissioner, he may differ from the Dewan's views and thus give the people the benefit of the Maharaja's consideration of the case; for, in the case of any material difference, it must be submitted to His Highness under clause 4 of the new constitution. The Dewan and the Second Councillor cannot be supposed to be the appellate authority, as they are not constituted as such and as they are not Government. His Highness alone does not represent the full Government, for the Council is an integral part of the constitution. In British India, the Governor in Council and the Governor-General in Council represent the Government. His Highness in Council, though such a body in a Native State be recognised as having a constitutional existence, cannot without great inconvenience hear appeals against the Revenue

Commissioner's orders ; and, even then, the Revenue Commissioner, being a member of the Council, would have to sit in judgment over his own acts.

As regards any revision of portfolios among the Dewan and the Councillors, there is no provision in the new rules of the constitution. In the old Executive Council, the Dewan in Council had the power of distributing the work of the State by departments between himself and the three Councillors—a course which was certainly wise, as they alone must be supposed to be the best judges of their own tastes and aptitudes. Why the present distribution of the portfolios was effected by the authors of the new constitution, it is difficult to imagine, the necessity for such a course being altogether absent and prudential considerations being favourable to non-interference in such a matter. When any alteration of the present arrangement becomes necessary, it will be a question whether the Dewan in Council cannot order it ; or whether His Highness, advised by the Council, can introduce changes without reference to the Government of India. If such a power has been reserved by the Government of India, we fail to see either the reasonableness or the expediency of such a step. The mere difference of opinion between two members of the late Executive Council as to the scope of the term “revenue” ought not to be a valid excuse for such interference on the part of the Government of India, and for the deprivation, if any, of the necessary power of distribution of the President in Council. In British India, for instance, it is practically the Governor that distributes the work of the Government, as any other course is bound to prove detrimental to public business. Under the Indian Council's Act 24 and 25 Vict. c. 67, section 8, it is lawful for the Governor-General from time to time to make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in the Council ; and any order or act done in accordance with such rules and orders shall be deemed to be the order or act of the Governor-General in Council. Section 28 of the same Act confers similar powers on the Governors of the Presidencies. In a State supposed to be administered on British lines the introduction of an anomaly of the kind referred to is surprising.

The simplicity of the machinery of the Consultative Council of the Rendition or the Executive Council of the Regency has disappeared in the mixed character of the present constitution, which has

been inappropriately termed "Consultative Council." The Councillors have also certain executive duties to perform, under the new rules. They can tour out on the authority of clause 11. They are in charge of portfolios in the same sense in which the Dewan is in charge of them. The difference between the Dewan's position and that of the Councillors with regard to the executive functions of their offices, is, indeed, small. To harmonise the title of the constitution with its articles, it is necessary either to repeal the clauses which impose duties of an executive character on the Councillors or to alter the title simply to "The Council of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore."

The Dewan of 1902 possesses very few powers as compared with the Dewan of 1881. With this reduction, his responsibility both to His Highness and to the five million people of the country must proportionately decrease. The disposal of non-schedule matter was the legitimate function of the Dewan of 1881, while, at present, it rests most inconveniently with the Dewan and the Councillor in charge of the portfolios concerned. The Councillor is placed in a more advantageous position, as he records his opinion first and leaves the unpleasant task of dissenting to the Dewan. A material difference of opinion between them has no slight consequences, as the matter has to go to His Highness either directly or through the Council. Thus, an obstructive Councillor is armed with power to render the Dewan's position extremely delicate. The past history of the Executive Council does not disprove the possibility of differences among the Members of the Council. The new constitution accentuates the importance of differences of opinion among the Councillors and the Dewan. The scope of the Council's business is extended to the utmost, thus further multiplying chances for differences of opinion. A Councillor has less responsibility than the Dewan, yet his opinion has the same weight and legal force as the Dewan's—a circumstance not only anomalous but certainly humiliating to the position of a Dewan.

The departure which the new constitution has made in the matter of patronage is inconveniently wide. Under the Council of 1881, the appointment, dismissal, suspension or degradation of the Deputy Amildars, Amildars, and Assistant Commissioners did not form council matters, as the Dewan could legally have disposed of them

with the assent of His Highness. Under the Regency the matter underwent change owing to the special character of the constitution. Under the new régime, however, all those matters must be dealt with by the Council itself. Thus the Dewan, who is called the Senior Executive Officer of the State, does not possess any more patronage than a Councillor. While the power of patronage which the Dewan of 1881 in effect possessed was commensurate with his responsibility for efficient administration, under the new constitution, two new limits reduce the Dewan's power to an insignificant quantity. The Revenue Commissioner takes away a large share of the power. The Council takes away almost the rest. Many of the Departments in charge of the Dewan possess European heads, who naturally resent even the least interference.

It may be observed that the present Dewan does not possess the powers of patronage enjoyed by even a District Collector in the Madras Presidency. The latter nominates Deputy Tahsildars, Tahsildars, Stationary Magistrates and virtually appoints them; for the yearly list of eligible candidates sent up by him to the Revenue Board is generally approved and the Collector can thereafter appoint any Deputy Tahsildars or Tahsildars or Stationary Magistrates on his own authority. He can transfer a Deputy Tahsildar or Tahsildar from one Tahsildary or Taluk to another, although such transfer may involve an increase or loss of pay. The principle on which such a power of patronage is vested in the Collector is evident and is equally applicable to Mysore. Yet a much higher officer than a Collector, in fact, the "Senior Executive Officer" of the State itself, possesses practically little or no power of patronage as compared with that of a Collector. The contrast between this picture and that is suggestive.

The constitution framed by the Viceroy for Mysore is, moreover, opposed to history. In British India, according to Macaulay, "the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with him in the Council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send protests to England. But it is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole responsibility

rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be, on the whole, the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution." The English Council which represented the Company at Calcutta was constituted on a very different basis from that which has since been adopted. We may well enquire how the necessity arose for a change, and quote Macaulay's cogent observations in answer. "In the time of Hastings the Governor had only one vote in Council; and in case of an equal decision, a casting vote. It, therefore, happened not infrequently that he was over-ruled on the gravest questions; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded for years together from the real direction of public affairs." It is a matter of history that the Councillors opposed to Hastings formed the majority and wrested the Government out of his hands, allowing the Governor-General to draw his pay and to nominally lead the Council. It is nothing less than such bitter experience that led to the enlargement of the powers of the Governor-General and the Governors. Under 33 Geo. III., chap. 52, it was ruled that the Governor-General or the Governors may order measures proposed in Council, about which they may differ from other members, to be adopted or suspended without the consent of the Council, whenever the interest of the Government or the safety or the tranquillity of the British possessions are essentially concerned or affected. The same power was re-enacted in Act 33 and 34 Vict. c. 14. Under the Government of India Act of 1858, 21 and 22 Vict. c. 186, Section 15, the Secretary of State for India possesses a similar power; for, if a majority of the Council record their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the Secretary of State can, if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto. In Mysore, the history of the Executive Council has not detracted from the utility of the lesson taught by the Council of Hastings. If experimental considerations have not brushed aside history, it is difficult to account for the weakening of the Dewan's power in the Mysore constitution.

I need make no apology for having compared the Mysore Council with the Councils of British India. I wish it, however, to be distinctly understood that the comparison is only between the

President of the one Council and the Presidents of the other Councils, and not between the Dewan and the Governors or the Governor-General. It must be conceded by all that the smooth working of all Councils, each in its own sphere, can only be regulated by a set of common elements capable of producing such a result. In fact, the Councils over which Governors preside are essentially based on the same principles on which the Councils of the Governor-General and of the Secretary of State for India are constituted. If, to ensure harmony between the President and the Councillors in British India, special enactment widening the powers of the former was a *sine qua non*, it is equally so in the case of the President of the Mysore Council ; nay, the necessity here is still greater, as the Councillors are competitors for the office of Dewan in Mysore.

It is a political axiom that without free play for individuality no Government can advance. If such a cardinal principle of progressive administration had not been the basis of the Council of 1881, where would have been the renown of Sir Seshadri Iyer as a statesman possessing no ordinary abilities, and what should have been the measure of loss to the State and its people? The excellent effects of the Native administration of the State after the Rendition are undoubtedly due to the recognition of that very principle. The administrations in British India, in fact throughout the world, rest upon the pillar of free scope for individuality ; but none the less a "new experiment" is to be tried in Mysore. It is generally believed that Sir Seshadri Iyer's supposed autocracy is the prime cause of this new experiment. If this explanation be true, a moment's reflection will show that the remedy is worse than the disease. The truth is that the etiology and pathology of the alleged disease have not been studied carefully—a course which has rendered the treatment injudicious and positively injurious. It is impossible to believe that Sir Seshadri Iyer could really be an autocrat, considering the three constitutional checks placed over him, viz., the Consultative Council of 1881, His Highness the Maharaja and the British Resident of Mysore. There can be little doubt that either the term was misapplied to him or that the matter was, from a mistaken point of view, exaggerated. It is impossible for anybody to show that the old constitution was such as to have enabled Sir Seshadri Iyer to act against the commands of His

Highness or the wishes of the British Resident. If it were otherwise, how did Sir Seshadri Iyer continue as Minister ; how were his services as Minister regarded as altogether indispensable for administering the State during the Regency ? Why did the Government of India say to the Dewan Sir Seshadri Iyer in 1895 as follows :—" Among the reasons which exist for modifying the Council, the Government has taken into account that there can be no guarantee that the destinies of Mysore will continue to be guided, during the long period for which arrangements have now to be made, by yourself, whose administration has been conducted with much conspicuous success in the past, and that inconvenience and danger may be apprehended if your assistance were to be suddenly withdrawn unless there were at the time existing and in working order an organised machinery capable of carrying on the executive Government " ? The new forces which have since come into play have not called for a new kind of constitution ; for, it would be evidently too premature to fear that the present Maharaja would make room for any autocracy on the part of a single individual. Is not the Gaekwar of Baroda, for instance, famous for his individuality and for his sincere love of constitutional methods at the same time ? Besides, the appointment of a Civilian European Secretary to advise the Maharaja would, *per se*, have been quite an adequate check on the development of any such phase of character as is in point ; for, unlike his predecessors, the present Private Secretary attends to the disposal of papers and takes a direct part in the administration of the province. Even this remedy is rightly liable to be considered drastic in its nature. It was certainly not necessary to overwhelm the Dewan with endless additional checks in the Council.

The new constitution appears to favour, in an especial degree, delay in the despatch of business owing to inherent defects in the methods of procedure prescribed. Under the Council of 1881, non-schedule matters used to be dealt with by the Dewan himself, as already observed ; and under the Executive Council of 1895 each member of the Council, including the Dewan, could dispose of ordinary matters on his own responsibility ; but under the present constitution every matter will have to pass through the Dewan and the Councillor concerned. The necessity of stating the grounds for dissent even in the case of non-schedule matters, which are too

numerous to mention, increases the work of the Dewan enormously. Moreover, every case respecting which the Dewan and the Councillors materially differ in their opinions has to go before his Highness. Thus, by the increase of work and the circuitous nature of the procedure, the disposal of the business is bound to be more slow than was the case before. Increased delay is, therefore, the necessary consequence of the new system which must be remodelled in material respects, if despatch of business has to be secured. Any number of circulars from His Highness or the Dewan will be of little practical benefit as they cannot be expected to improve the machinery bristling with such inherent defects.

One other characteristic feature of the new Council is that it does not contain a non-Brahman member, although neither the Council of 1881, nor that of 1895, was without one. Before the announcement of the new constitution an agitation was set up in the press regarding the advisability, nay, even the necessity of having a non-Brahman element in the Council. The agitators then forgot the voice which a European Secretary to His Highness might in practice exercise in the administration of the State. He is not in the Council—a circumstance which places him in a more advantageous position than the Council itself. *United India* pointed out that the new Private Secretary might be the *de facto* ruler of Mysore. Although I hesitate at present to take such an extreme view of his influence and power, it does not require an undue stretch of imagination to conceive how at times a man of his abilities, experience and influence may have more power thrown into his hands than the Dewan and the Councillors.

In the light of these observations it is impossible to reconcile His Excellency the Viceroy's speech of the 8th August with the nature and the scope of the new constitution. If the Council of 1881 was a success, where was the administrative necessity for a new experiment? His Highness the Maharaja openly declared on the 14th August, 1902, that the Government in Mysore was again at the beginning of a new experiment, and that the new scheme of administration might disclose defects of one kind or another. It passes one's comprehension why the Installation was used as an occasion for ignoring the results of a tried and successful experiment and for introducing a new one, the success of which is seriously doubted by

men able to judge correctly. His Highness was yet young and quite new to the administration ; his Private Secretary was also new to the Province and to the people. Yet, unaccountably, the Mysore Government is placed again at the threshold of a new experiment. It cannot be claimed that the cause of Native administration has gained by it.

A MYSOREAN.

ON THE ETHICS AND CONSEQUENCES OF VIVISECTION.

WHEN I was a medical student fifty years ago, the method of research by experiments on living creatures, commonly called Vivisection, was little known in Britain, and hardly mentioned in our medical schools, except with reprobation. But since that time, and particularly during the last 25 or 30 years, it has increased to such an extent in Europe and America, that public interest has been greatly aroused, and the question continues to be discussed on public platforms and in the press from every point of view. So far as I can see, vivisection can only be defended by purely utilitarian and materialistic arguments, by appeals to cowardice and selfishness, and by specious but illusory promises of future benefits. I do not propose to discuss here the various unfounded, or much exaggerated, claims which have been put forward by the advocates of this method. It is sufficient to point out that, though vivisection has been going on for more than 2,000 years, the beneficial results are infinitesimal in comparison with the physical suffering and moral evil which have thus been caused. As Dr. George Wilson declares, in his "Handbook of Hygiene and Sanitary Science," "there are not a few who doubt whether all the agonies inflicted on animals sacrificed in the laboratories of Continental workers in bacteriological research, or even in those at home where the use of anæsthetics is enjoined, have saved one single human life, or lessened in any appreciable degree the load of human suffering." But were this method of research as useful as its warmest admirers assert, I would still condemn it, since assuredly no material benefits can compensate for moral evil, nor can it ever be right to do evil that good may come, a principle which

undermines morality itself, and which has been used in past times for the defence and justification of every kind of cruelty.

It is hardly necessary to adduce evidence of the cruelty of vivisection, for this is self-evident, and is admitted by most of the experimenters themselves, one of whom (Dr. Klein) openly declared in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Vivisection in 1876, that he had no regard at all to the sufferings of the animals (Q. 6539, 40, Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission, London, 1876). Innumerable animals of all kinds, chiefly dogs, cats, rabbits, guinea-pigs, and frogs, have been subjected to excruciating torture by cutting, scalding, burning, baking, flaying, electrifying, and in short by every device that could be invented by the exercise of the most devilish ingenuity, prompted chiefly by morbid curiosity, a passion for experimental research, and a desire to gain fame and wealth by scientific discoveries. It is often urged that the cruelty of this method is minimised in England at least by the use of anæsthetics and the Vivisection Act does certainly enjoin use of anæsthetics in experiments on living animals. But it permits these agents to be dispensed with whenever the vivisector considers that their use might interfere with the object of the experiment. This proviso obviously destroys all certainty regarding the use of anæsthetics and opens the door for any amount of cruelty. Even when anæsthetics are used, the animals must, in many cases, suffer great pain subsequently, unless killed before regaining consciousness, which the Act indeed directs, but, by a proviso, leaves to the discretion of the experimenter. It should be stated here that special certificates sanctioning these omissions must previously be obtained.

Ample evidence as to the cruelty of vivisection may be found in the Report of the Royal Commission on Vivisection in 1876, where the Commissioners say plainly, "It is manifest that the practice is, from its very nature, liable to great abuse. It is not to be doubted that inhumanity may be found in persons of very high position as physiologists. We have had some evidence that cases have arisen in which the unpractised student has taken upon himself, without guidance, in his private lodgings, to expose animals to torture without anæsthetics, for no purpose

which could merit the name of legitimate scientific research." The Commissioners evidently concurred in the opinion of Dr. Haughton, whose evidence was as follows:—"I would shrink with horror from accustoming large classes of young men to the sight of animals under vivisection. I believe that many of them would become cruel and hardened, and would go away and repeat those experiments recklessly. Science would gain nothing, and the world would have let loose upon it a set of young devils." (Q. 1888, Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on Vivisection, London, 1876.) It may be noted here that much of the evidence given in favour of vivisection before the Royal Commission was shuffling and evasive in the highest degree. The most extravagant and unfounded claims were put forward on behalf of vivisection, but whenever inconvenient questions were asked, the witnesses shirked them and took refuge in vague generalities.

It is universally admitted that the habitual performance of cruel acts cannot fail, sooner or later, to render the performers of such acts callous and cruel, to brutalise their natures, and to destroy their sense of mercy and humanity. Some experimenters have absurdly declared that their proceedings are not cruel, as they are done for the advancement of science and for the benefit of humanity. They apparently regard no action as cruel unless done expressly for the gratification of cruelty, a view which, if admitted, would render it impossible to prove cruelty under any circumstances, since it could always be pleaded that there was no intention to be cruel. But there can be no doubt that vivisection is an evil and dangerous method, causing moral deterioration in those who habitually practise or witness it. The cure of disease, the relief of pain, and the prolongation of life, are of less importance to the human race than the cultivation of justice, mercy and humanity, and these principles are, I consider, absolutely incompatible with vivisection, the increasing prevalence of which has already undermined them considerably.

In proof of this assertion I may state the following facts. Some years ago, Professor Dubois Reymond, of Berlin, became aware that a great laxity of morals was developing among his students, and he openly lamented the growing depravity which he was quite unable to account for. Professor Zollner, of Leipzig,

however, declared the mischief was due to the very general practice of experimenting on living animals, and he called on the German Government to prohibit vivisection. His appeal, however, passed unnoticed, and nothing was done. Some years later, in Edinburgh, a student in the class of the late Professor Rutherford raised the same complaint. He addressed a letter dated January 27th, 1890, to the "*Scottish Leader*," appealing to the public and declaring that by seeing frequent experiments of one kind and another on living animals the students tended to become brutalised and degraded, callous and indifferent to death or pain in others, and unfitted for their present work in the Infirmary and for future private practice. It might have been expected that such an impressive appeal would secure attention, but unfortunately it remained unheeded. The public was not roused and did not trouble itself about the students. Ample evidence of the demoralising effects of vivisection upon those who practise and witness it is to be found in the Report of the Royal Commission on Vivisection in 1876, and this evidence has never been disputed.

The force of habit is so powerful as to accustom people almost to anything. Hence it is not at all surprising that vivisectors become callous and indifferent to suffering, as they have themselves sometimes acknowledged. But it is truly astonishing to find that what may be termed the vivisectional sentiment (that is, a general approval of vivisection on account of its alleged utility) has grown up among the cultured and the wealthy classes of society in Europe and America. Among these people the moral aspect of the question is entirely ignored, and nothing is deemed worthy of consideration but the benefits which, it is asserted, have been and will be conferred upon the human race by the vivisectional method. That such opinions should be current among ordinary persons of kind disposition and average conscience is a most alarming feature, as it demonstrates that their standard of right and wrong has been seriously lowered, owing, in great measure, to a bad idea powerfully urged by influential men, and assisted by legal sanction.

I regard the great increase of vivisection during the last twenty or thirty years as a very serious danger to the community, as it must lead, and has, indeed, already led, to cruel and unjustifiable

experiments on living human beings. Human vivisection is no novelty, having been practised largely in former times. The Greek and Alexandrian physicians are known to have employed it extensively, using slaves for this purpose, and in the Middle Ages criminals were vivisected by certain Italian experimenters in Pisa and elsewhere. Only a few years ago an attempt was made in the Legislature of the State of Ohio, in America, to pass a measure legalising the vivisection of capitally sentenced criminals. It is noteworthy that the passage of this law was urgently demanded on the exact ground on which we oppose the vivisection of animals, that is, on the ground that experiments on animals are misleading, or at best, useless, and that if we desire any really useful knowledge, we must vivisect men and women, and not animals. The Bill was powerfully supported, and was very nearly carried. This incident reveals an unexpected danger impending over society, owing to its tolerance of vivisection—the danger that, sooner or later, human beings may be subjected to vivisection under legal sanction. If that atrocity were once allowed, it would soon set at naught all limitations. The supply of capitally sentenced criminals would be utterly insufficient to meet the demand for living human “subjects,” and accordingly, paupers, lunatics and hospital patients would be extensively utilised. In a short time, no poor and friendless person would be safe, and at length all classes would find themselves exposed to this terrible danger.

It is, perhaps, generally known that experiments on hospital patients have been freely carried on in Europe and America, during recent years. As this statement may be doubted by some persons, the following instances are detailed in proof of its truth. In the “Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital,” for July 1897, appears an article entitled “Poisoning with Preparations of the Thyroid Gland,” in which the author states that he made experiments with thyroid extract upon eight insane patients of the Baltimore City Asylum, one of whom died under this treatment. In the Boston “Medical and Surgical Journal” for August 6th and 13th, 1896, Dr. A. H. Wentworth, Senior Assistant Physician to “The Infants’ Hospital,” Boston, describes what he calls “Some Experimental Work” upon children, by puncturing the spinal canal. There were

no therapeutic indications for these operations, and death quickly followed in most of the cases. The New York "Medical Record," in its issue of September 10th, 1892, published an article by an American physician on the origin of leprosy, in which he stated that on November 14th, 1883, he inoculated six leper girls with the virus of a loathsome disease, and did it again on December 14th. In the "British Medical Journal," for July 3rd, 1897, there appeared an account of the experiments of Sanarelli at Montevideo, with the virus of yellow fever upon "material" (*i. e.* living human beings), obtained from a lazaretto on Flores Island, and from the hospital of St. Sebastien. In June 1891, Professor Cornil, in a paper on cancer-grafting, read before the Academy of Medicine in Paris, stated that a surgeon, after removing a cancer of the breast, took occasion to engraft a portion of the cancer upon the other breast (then quite healthy) and that some months later, the graft developed into a tumour which "presented every cancerous characteristic." The experiment was repeated upon another patient, with identical results. In 1899, the "Deutsche Volksblatt" made some startling charges against the Vienna hospitals, asserting that many patients had undergone needless operations which were made solely as experiments. Eighty cases were cited of children being inoculated with disease germs, and it was alleged that the same thing was done in maternity cases, so that infants were born with loathsome diseases. The case of Dr. Neisser, of Breslau (who was merely censured by the German Government for having injected eight healthy persons with a serum which communicated a horrible disease to four of them) is so recent, that it must be within the recollection of everyone. In Dr. Sydney Ringer's "Therapeutics," numerous instances are recorded of experiments with drugs on hospital patients, not for their benefit in any way, but simply to observe the consequences. I may also refer to the abominable experiments on women and children performed by Professor E. Finger of Vienna, Professor Schreiber of Königsberg, Dr. Jansen of Stockholm, Dr. Menge of Leipzig, Dr. Epstein of Prague, Dr. Stickles, Professor Ziemssen of Munich, Dr. Wachsmuth, and Dr. Lund (who actually performed a series of experiments upon his own child). An attempt has been made by Dr. W. W. Keen, of Philadelphia, to palliate some of these cases on various grounds. But what must strike everyone who reads Dr.

Keen's letter is that his flimsy excuses have nothing to do with the essential wickedness of the experiments, or the utter condemnation their perpetrators deserve. He seems to be quite unconscious of the enormity of the crime committed by medical men who experiment upon their patients for purposes of scientific research or mere curiosity.

Under the title of "Atrocities of Continental Physicians," the "Medical Brief" for June 1899, published an editorial article condemning in the strongest manner various phases of human vivisection, and ending as follows: "The mental attitude of medical men, who can coolly infect the helpless bodies of babes and women with virulent poisons, is horrible to contemplate. Such a man rivals the unspeakable Turk in his depravity, and puts an indelible stain upon the fair fame of medicine. If words can shock and sear and blister his mind into a consciousness of the awful nature of his crime, then it is the duty of Anglo-Saxon physicians to unceasingly speak those words." More timely speech was never uttered. Let us hope that before long, these words will be echoed throughout the Medical Press of the world.

Such are some of the terrible and disastrous consequences which have already ensued from the practice of experimenting on living animals. These cases furnish positive proof of the brutalising and demoralising effect of vivisection, which eventually destroys all moral sense and renders its votaries utterly callous and insensible to human, as well as animal, suffering. Such persons would be quite ready to vivisect human beings if they dared, and they are only prevented from doing so now, by fear of the law and public opinion. Well may the poor regard hospitals with suspicion and distrust, for there is absolutely no safeguard for poor patients, if once the sure ground of duty and principle be departed from—*that no drug may be administered to, nor any experiment performed upon, a patient, except for his or her own benefit.* The preceding instances show only too plainly how frequently this sound and excellent principle is disregarded, and how necessary it is, for the protection of the patients, that hospitals should be placed under public superintendence and control.

I am bound to state here that my remarks apply chiefly to the professional experimenters, not to the medical profession as a body,

for many medical men are against vivisection, and if the majority support it, that is mainly from professional feeling and *esprit-de-corps*.

Medical men, as a rule, are kindly, humane, sympathetic and devoted ; their valuable services are, in many cases, very inadequately remunerated ; and not unfrequently they are rewarded only by the gratitude and affection of their patients. In short, there is no class of people more deserving of praise and commendation than the majority of the medical profession.

But the professional vivisectors are, I consider, a very dangerous class of men, and it is truly astonishing that their proceedings in foreign hospitals have been tolerated so long by the Governments, and by the people of those countries. Such men are unfit to have anything to do with hospitals, and they are disqualified for the ordinary practice of the medical profession by the hard-heartedness and want of sympathy resulting inevitably from their habitual occupation. Their influence and example must produce a very bad effect on public morality, and must go far in neutralising the efforts of humanitarians, and in propagating a spirit of cruelty and callous indifference among the people. Like other evil passions, the desire to experiment upon living subjects grows with indulgence, until it becomes a veritable mania, and leads its votaries on to practices (such as those I have previously mentioned) which, as the " Medical Brief " has declared, can hardly be otherwise explained than by assuming the insanity of the perpetrators. If not insane, they must be regarded as very dangerous criminals, and the public safety requires that they should, in either case, be subjected to restraint.

This very serious danger to the public is entirely due to the public tolerance of vivisection, and constitutes an irrefutable argument for the suppression of that practice, no matter how useful it is asserted to be in medicine, surgery and bacteriology. In my judgment we should lose nothing worth having by the abolition of vivisection, but were it otherwise, I am convinced that the promotion of justice, mercy and humanity among the human race would be well worth the sacrifice.

J. H. THORNTON.

ON THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD "BOMBAY."

OPINIONS differ about the origin and signification of the word "Bombay." By some writers it is believed that the name "Bombay" is derived from the two Portuguese words *bom*, good, and *bahia*, bay or harbour, and that the Portuguese gave this name to the island on account of its excellent harbour. But according to the rules of euphony, the correct combination of *bom* and *bahia* would be "Boa-bahia" and not Bom-bahia (*bahia* being of the feminine gender), and had the Portuguese given the name "Bombaim" to the island on account of its good harbour, they would have certainly called it "Boa-bahia." But what do we find? We find that most of the early Portuguese writers speak of the island as "Bombaim," and in the papers relating to the grant of the island of Bombay as part of the marriage dowry by the King of Portugal to King Charles II. of England, the word "Bombaim" is used.*

Another explanation given about the origin of the word "Bombay" is that it is derived from the word Mubarak, the name of a Mahomedan king who is supposed to have held sway over the island of Bombay. There is a probability of truth in this belief; and let us see how far it is borne out by historical evidence and local traditions. From the Maratha records, published and unpublished, and from other sources, we find that up to the end of the 13th century, the greater part of the Northern Konkan, including the islands of Bombay (Mahim) and Salsette (Shrithan), was at one time or other under the rule of the Hindu kings of the Shilahar dynasty and the Yadavas of Deogiri. About the beginning of the 14th century, that is, in the year 1318, after the reduction of Deogiri, and the death of Harpaldeo, son-in-law of Ramdeo Rane, the last sovereign of the Yádava dynasty, Emperor Mubarak I. ordered his garrisons to be extended as far as the sea, and in obedience to his directions, the islands of Mahim and Salsette were

* Vide *Indian Antiquary*, III, 249; Briggs' *Ferista*, I, p. 306.

occupied by his forces.* From the above it is plain that in the 14th century Mahim (Bombay) and Salsette were brought under the rule of Emperor Mubarak I. of Delhi. But there is nothing on record to show that the Emperor gave his name to the island, and had this island been called Mubarakpur or Mubarakabad, after the Emperor Mubarak, Mahomedan historians of the subsequent period would have made use of that name in referring to the conquests of the island instead of calling it by the name of Mahim (Bombay) as will be shown hereafter. According to Briggs (*Ferista*, II. 413), in the year 1429, Malik-ul-Tujar, a general of the Bahamani king of the Dekkan, led a large army into the Konkan, brought the whole country under subjection, and sent several elephants and cartloads of gold and silver, as booty to his master, the Bahamani king. Malik-ul-Tujar then seized on Mahim (Bombay) and Salsette. The seizure of these two islands aroused the wrath of Ahmed Shah, the King of Gujarat, to such an extent that he immediately sent a large army to recapture these important places.† A part of this army went by land and a part embarked in seventeen ships. And this combined army laid siege to Thana by sea and land. Malik-ul-Tujar offered some resistance to this force, but eventually he abandoned the place and returned to Mahim, where, it appears, a part of his army was stationed. Having strengthened his forces by additional reinforcement at Mahim (Bombay), Malik-ul-Tujar returned to Thana. Here he attacked the combined forces of Ahmed Shah. A bloody engagement took place between the two forces, and it is stated that it lasted a whole day. The army of Malik-ul-Tujar was completely defeated and dispersed; and the fleet of Ahmed Shah returned to Gujarat, carrying with it some beautiful gold and silver embroidered muslins taken on the island of Mahim‡ (Bombay). The above account is corroborated by Erskine,§ who states that Ahmed Shah, during his reign, reduced under his power the Northern Konkan and the island of Bombay. In the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, a list is given of the possessions of the Gujarat King, Mahamad Shah Begada (who died in 1511), and these are made to include in the Konkan the districts of Bassien, Mahim (Bombay), Daman and Danda Rajapur (Janjira).¶

From the account and the authorities given above it is conclusively proved that (1) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the

* Briggs' *Ferista*, I., 373; *Bombay*, Geo. Sty's Trans., V. 129.

† Forbes' *Ras Mala*, I. 350.

‡ Briggs' *Ferista*, IV. 29; Forbes' *Ras Mala*, 350-351.

§ Erskine's *History of Gujarat*, 110.

¶ Bird's *History of Gujarat*, 110.

Christian era, the Northern Konkan, including the island of Bombay, was under the sway of the Mahomedan kings (for the most part if not exclusively) of Gujarat ; (2) that during the whole of this period the island of Bombay was known by the name of Mahim and not as Bombay or Mubarakpur ; (3) and that it (Mahim) was a place of some importance politically and commercially.

According to a local tradition, which is based on the authority of a work called *Mumba Devi Mahātmya* or *Puran*, the name Mumba is given in the memory of a monster named Mumbarakh, who was supreme in this island. I have got a copy of this so-called *Puran*. It is written in Sanskrit and contains fifty-two verses, or nearly 208 lines. It states that a long time ago, there lived on the island of Bombay, a powerful Daitya (monster). He was a great devotee of the god Bramha, whom he pleased by the performance of strict religious austerities for a number of years. At last the god Brahma was pleased with him and informed him that he would be glad to grant him any boon that he might ask for. The monster thanked the god, and requested him to grant him a boon by virtue of which he might be invincible in battle and might not suffer death at the hands of man, god, yaksha, gandharva, demon, animal, serpent, beast or bird. The god Brahma granted this boon immediately, and from that day, Mumbarakh began to harass everybody on earth. The people on earth, therefore, went to Vishnu, the god of protection. As it was in virtue of the favour of the god Brahma that the demon Mumbarakh had become invincible, Vishnu went to Brahma, and in his company they all went to Kailas, the residence of the god Shiva (the Hindu god of destruction). Vishnu informed Shiva of the havoc created by the demon Mumbarakh. Shiva was greatly enraged, and in his wrath he sent out from his mouth a part of his *tej* or lustre and commanded all the gods to do likewise. And from the combined *tej* or lustre of all the gods, a female deity was created. All the gods now implored her to protect them from the demon. The goddess consented and came to the nether world. On seeing the goddess, the demon Mumbarakh came to attack her, seated in a chariot. Upon this, the goddess invoked her *vahan* (vehicle), the lion, and the lion of the goddess Amba at once appeared before her. Riding on this lion Mumbadevi fought with the demon for eight days, at the end of which the demon was vanquished ; and he prayed for mercy. He praised the goddess and the goddess was pleased. He promised not to harass any one in future and to go to *Patal* (the lower regions), provided the goddess adopted his name before her name, and

stayed in the island. The goddess consented and from that time she adopted the name of *Mumbadevi* and stayed in the island.

In conclusion, the writer of this Puran says that "those who want good health and prosperity, and those who want victory on the battle-field, power of oratory, succession of progeny, &c., should worship this goddess with flowers, fruits and presents of money, ornaments, and jewels, and they should also feed Brahmans and give them good *dakshina* or money presents." Evidently, the author of this Puran was a Brahman priest fond of money presents (*dakshina*), and he must have been a half-educated Brahman, for the verses are full of grammatical inaccuracies, and here and there we find an utter disregard of the rules of Sanskrit prosody. But this is not all. At the end of this Puran, the writer gives a very interesting and amusing piece of information. He states: "Having heard of the prowess of the goddess from Rama, the great warrior or monkey-god Hanuman came to Bombay immediately, and has been ever since staying in this island."*

The author of this Puran further tells us that "In order to strengthen the defences of this island against any foreign encroachment, the goddess Mumba commanded one hundred thousand of her *gamās* or fighting followers to come and settle in Bombay."†

There is no doubt that the city of Bombay derives its name from the goddess *Mumba*. But the question is, how is the word *Mumba* derived? Is it a foreign word? or is it the name of a Hindu goddess? Two explanations seem plausible, and they are (1) that the name *Mumba* is derived from *Munga* or *Muga*, the name of a Koli fisherman; or (2) that it is derived from the name of *Amba Bhawani*, a Hindu goddess. Let us examine these two explanations and see which of them is worthy of credence and acceptance. By some authorities it is firmly believed that the name is derived from *Munga* or *Muga*, the name of the Koli who first built the temple of the goddess *Mumbadevi*. But we generally find that whenever any Hindu deities are called after the name of the builder of the temple, the name of the male builder is given to the god and of the female builder or of the male builder's wife is given to the goddess. The feminine of the word *Munga* is *Mungi*, and therefore the correct form would have been *Mungi-ái* and not

* श्रुत्वा क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्यं । हनुमानपि राघवात् ।

स्थितो मुम्बापुरे नित्यं । भक्ताभिष्ट प्रदोहरिः ॥ ४९ ॥

† तथान्ये क्षेत्र रक्षार्थं । देव्या व्यापारिता शुभा ॥

गणाश्चत सहस्रंवा । मुम्बापुर्यां व्यवस्थिताः ॥

Munga-ái or Mumba-ái. Another explanation of the origin of the word Mumba is that it is derived from Amba, another name of Bháwani*, the consort of Shiva (the Hindu god of destruction); and in my opinion this latter explanation is correct. As the goddess Kali is sometimes called Maha-Kali or the great Kali, so Amba is also called Maha-Amba or the great Amba, and by the Kolis and other illiterate persons the word Maha-Amba is generally pronounced as Mámba or Mumba. The suffix *Ai*, signifying mother, is a term of respect applied to Hindu goddesses. The word Mumbai is, therefore, derived from the words Maha + Amba + Ai = Mumbai, and evidently the word Bombay (Portuguese *Bombaim*) is the corruption of the word Mumbai.

Many instances can be given of names of towns and villages being similarly derived, that is, from the names of the local deities. We shall here give only three such instances. Take Wasai, the name by which the town of Bassein is called by the natives of the place. This town takes its name of Wasai from the name of the goddess Watsa or Watsala, and Watsa + ai = Watsai or Wasai. Again, take the name Garai, a village in Salsette. It is derived from Gauri + ai. Gauri is the same as the goddess Bhawáni, and by the villagers she is called Gour or Gor. The name Jogái (Jogaiche Ambe) is similarly derived. Joga is the diminutive of the word Jogeshwari (the name of a well-known goddess), and the word Jogái is derived from Joga + ai, meaning the goddess-mother Joga.

PURUSHOTTAM BALKRISHNA JOSHI.

* Bháwani is often called Amba, Ambika or Ambalika. Compare the following Sanskrit prayer in the Ganapati Atharva Shirsha :—अंबे अंबिके अंबा लिके नमः &c., i.e., I bow to thee, O Amba! O Ambika! O Ambalika

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.

IT is not, perhaps, very difficult to account for the general sentiment of dislike which continental nations have always shown for the people of England. It arose in a period when we were little known and when foreigners regarded the *penetis toto divisos orbe Britannos* much as the contemporaries of Augustus regarded our Keltic predecessors. "He's a stranger ; heave half a brick at him," said the immortal pitman in *Punch* ; and the Briton underwent the operation of universal law. When railways and tourist-tickets began to alter this remoteness and show the people of these islands in person, it did not follow that the dislike would be diminished : indeed, something came to be added to it. Formerly, such samples of British humanity as came before the continental observers were great lords lavishing money, or diplomatists imbued with social tradition and washed with French polish : the Bolingbrokes, Chesterfields, and Granvilles who even bred a kind of occasional Anglomania at the Courts they honoured with their presence. The cheap trippers have introduced another ideal.

But there was always one nation that might have known us better. Parted by twenty miles of familiarly-known water, very closely allied by blood, constantly associated from the very beginning of national existence, the French and English ought to have been intimately acquainted with each other, with each other's good qualities no less than with defects. The Straits of Dover and other parts of the Channel had been ploughed by their mutual vessels for centuries, and so far back as the eleventh century England had begun to imbibe French civilisation : so that the so-called "Conquest" was rather a change of dynasty than a foreign invasion, although strong animosity prevailed between the Norman William and his technical Overlord at Paris. England thus became a rebellious French province. This fusion, however incomplete in the earlier stage, gradually gave

rise, no doubt, to a new nationality. Already the centuries of invasion and amalgamation, by which the earlier Northmen had been influencing England, had introduced among the Anglo-Saxon races an element which in France was almost restricted to one province; and as that province did not at first form part of the Capetian realm, the Scandinavian element was absent from the French origins, though abundant in Normandy, and eventually in England. Thus arose virility, a tenacity, and a practical sagacity, by which our very mixed breed has ever since continued to be distinguished.

The intercourse between the two nations nevertheless continued: sometimes friendly, often pugnacious enough, it was in any case close enough to keep up a constant familiarity. They might be friends or might be foes: they could not be strangers. Brilliant, brave and ready, the French held towards their steadier neighbours a relation in some measure resembling that of a high-strung lady to her more practical spouse. When they were on good terms the French prospered, when they quarrelled it went ill with France. The quarrel between Philip Augustus and the Plantagenets ended advantageously for France so far as the annexation of Normandy was concerned; but the immediate result might only have been a union of the two crowns. Nothing but the premature death of King John and the wisdom of a few of the Anglo-Norman Barons would have caused the discomfiture and retreat of the Dauphin Louis. The next reign saw a great influx of French manners into England; and the loss of Normandy did not prevent the Plantagenet Kings from exercising a very practical sway in other parts of France; while the French tongue continued to be the medium of communication in literature, law and society, as much on one side of the Channel as on the other.

It was not until the Hundred Years' War that a complete separation of the nations occurred. Under a revived sense of national individuality the composite England of Chaucer emerged, with a House of Commons doing business in a language enriched, indeed, by French importation, but ultimately based on the old Teutonic idiom of Bede and Alfred. Still the old instinct for union persisted; Henry V. and his infant son were both crowned at Paris, and the fleur-de-llys appeared upon the scutcheon of English Royalty. During the fifteenth century France was slowly consolidating while England

(and to a less degree Scotland also) writhed under intestine conflict. But the Tudors began a new system of foreign politics. With all his obvious faults, Henry VIII. was by nature a statesman; and his aspirations for the balance of power led him, after a few years of indecision, into an alliance with France, which might have borne better fruit but for the blight that followed. The unhappy Spanish connection was formed by his daughter Mary, and its effects—so disastrous for England—were only ended by the defeat of the Armada and the accession of Henri of Navarre to the French throne. From that period for about a century and a half there was friendship between the two nations during which each benefited largely, each receiving that in which it was surpassed by the other. For fifty years a common dread of Spain kept France and England in friendly approximation; and however much the feeble policy of the first two Stuarts may have introduced an element of instability into Foreign relations, there was, from the death of Richelieu in 1642 to that of Fleury in 1743, hardly an interruption of amity between them. The wars which succeeded ended ill for France, whose administration and armies were ruined and exterminated, alike in America and in India. The war with Napoleon, at the termination of which the Bourbons recovered their throne, is hardly an instance of national conflict; and the Restoration was followed by peace that has never been broken, and by alliances in which the sons of both countries have fought side by side.

Now, setting aside old dynastic quarrels, it is plain that in modern times the friendship of France and Great Britain has been mutually beneficial, while their enmity has brought misfortune, especially to France. The fact is that each people has peculiar qualities which enable one to supplement the shortcomings of the other. Without offence, surely, one may say that the French are inferior to the English in some of the rougher elements of individual character, while they as certainly excel in social amenity and artistic skill. In Stuart times the arts and graces were freely imported by such men as Grammont and Saint Evremond, and in the domain of letters the somewhat amorphous vigour of Shakespeare and of Milton became transmuted into the more artificial regularity of Dryden and Pope: but a time was at hand when the process was to be reversed, and when Locke and Newton were to find their French interpreter in

Voltaire, while Richardson and Fielding were to be followed by Marivaux and Rousseau: and La Harpe was to lay down, in his professional "Course," that "Tom Jones" was the greatest fiction in the world.

Nor was the interchange of literary thought and form the only profitable intercourse between two nations in the first half of the eighteenth century. The simultaneous financial crisis of 1720 was met and remedied by similar measures on both sides of the Channel; and the combination by which the unscrupulous intrigues of the Italians, who were trying to work Philip V. for their own purposes, were only confounded by the vigorous conduct of Berwick on the mainland of Spain and the energy of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean. Had Elizabeth Farnese and her Minister Alberoni succeeded, Britain might have emerged unhurt—indeed she resisted the Chevalier de St. Georges without any French help. But Philip would have taken the place of his cousin as Regent in France, and that country would, for a time at least, have played the unwelcome part of Spanish satellite. From this she was undoubtedly saved by Stanhope and Walpole; the alliance brought with it the co-operation of Holland and the sympathy of Austria; Philip's resources were so evidently unequal to the struggle that the courage of the Queen gave way: Alberoni went into permanent exile to cultivate his hereditary market-garden; and the French Revolution was adjourned for fifty years.

Of the international relations of more recent times it would be difficult to say very much without treading on ashes not yet cold. This much, however, may be safely asserted. Even if the alliances with Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. were not productive of the same beneficial effects as what followed on some earlier occasions, it is certain that the prosperity of both dynasties—Orleanist and Bonapartist—waxed and waned in proportion as the "understanding" was or was not "cordial." When Louis Philippe deceived Queen Victoria and her Ministers about the affairs of Spain, he forfeited the confidence of England; and the fall of his throne soon followed. The power of Napoleon III. culminated in 1856; and it declined from the time when, in 1862, he declared war against the Mexican Republic in contempt of British advice.

The present French system has lived longer than any of its predecessors since the Revolution of 1790. Whether it is finally

consolidated or not, who can positively pronounce? One thing alone is certain: with such powers of recuperation, such resources of mind and matter, as the French possess, they can never be safely treated as decadent or as a negligible quantity in the affairs of Christendom. Mistakes they have made and will continue to make, as a daring initiative tempts them into the indulgence of impulse and the undertaking of premature enterprises. In this path disappointment may await them, perhaps disaster; though even then the omens of Clio announce the eventual recovery of that fine nation:—

Per damna per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque ferro.

But their immediate future must depend upon the choice to be made in the days now passing. Many temptations invite. Their unrivalled resources of climate and soil offer the various incitements of song and dance and a refined voluptuousness. Rome woos them to an elegant fanaticism, not unmingled with intolerance. The clash of arms has left an echo in their ears; their eyes are dazzled with a mirage of glory. An *entente cordiale* with insular neighbours offers only the interchange of mental and material produce, coal for claret, and poetry for prose. But for good or for evil, for the amenities of peace as for the evil tempers of hostility, the silver streak of the Straits has never been a barrier, and is now less so than ever. It does not need the Watkin tunnel to make us conterminous: the spirit of proximity cannot be exorcised; but on the direction in which it is to act must hang momentous issues.

According to the report of Mazarin's death-bed, one of the Cardinal's latest observations was to the effect that friendly relations with England formed a necessity for France, England being her "natural ally."

H. G. KEENE.

GUIZOT'S LETTERS TO MADAME LENORMANT.

LONG ago, the literary world became indebted to Mme. Conrad de Witt, M. Guizot's accomplished daughter, for the publication of two volumes of her father's familiar letters. Apart from their merit as the best accounts of M. Guizot's private life, they display such rare qualities of penmanship that they can be deservedly considered as regular masterpieces of French epistolary prose in the 19th century. Last year M. Guizot's correspondence with a noble foreigner was published by M. E. Daudet; recently some pages out of it were again "*feuilletées*" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

And now M. de Loménie has edited a new correspondence which runs over half a century. The first letters are written from England, where M. Guizot resided for a while after the Revolution which drove into exile his old king and ruined the Orléans dynasty (1848). The very last, dated from Val Richer, almost on the eve of his death, is dictated to his daughter Henriette (August 1874); it runs thus :

They say that I am improving. I do not contradict them. Upon the whole there is no change in my state. I am very weak and becoming a cripple. I am daily more and more struck by the independence of the soul to the body. I feel as alive as formerly; physically I am simply languishing and expecting. Such is the truth, dear Madame; be still my friend as you always have been. Write to me often, and be quite sure that my affection is as constant as if I were fifty.

Who was that correspondent to whom M. Guizot had given such affection that he could claim a complete return of it?—A most noble soul, Mme. Charles Lenormant, the tried friend to whom

* *Les années de retraite de Guizot—Lettres à M. et Mme. Charles Lenormant; précédées d'une Lettre de Mgr. de Cabrières, Evêque de Montpellier.* Paris. Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1902.

he had trusted his aged mother and children during the awful crisis of the February Revolution. "My duty," the great statesman writes, "will oblige me to stay either at the *Chambre* or at the *Ministère*. I will not be able to live unless I feel that my mother and children are out of danger, nay, more, have no anxiety. As long as they are entrusted to your care, I will be at ease."

Let the reader weigh each word and consider that no higher proof of esteem and affection can be given by a fond parent than the sweet charge of his dear ones.

M. de Loménie, Mme. Charles Lenormant's grandson, the editor of this correspondence, has very ingeniously remarked that one of the characteristics of M. Guizot's moral nature was his taste for feminine friendship, in spite of those cold and reserved appearances which concealed an exquisite sensitiveness and have often misled and deluded the average looker-on.

As regards Mme. Ch. Lenormant, their mutual affection began and ripened under the auspices of M. Ch. Lenormant, M. Guizot's friend, and after the death of her beloved consort, the widow naturally accepted the precious legacy. M. de Loménie explains to us the nature of the feelings which existed between his respected grandmother and M. Guizot (p. xxx.) as one of those that time and custom feed instead of diminishing. The attraction, mixed with respect that gives them birth, increases in proportion as people are better acquainted with each other, and the diversions and motives of restraint disappear with years. Esteem and confidence were the bases of that attachment. "My long life has taught me to penetrate hearts, and yours is one of those in which I believe." (8th May, 1860.) When M. Guizot confided his children to Mme. Ch. Lenormant, their friendship was already of old standing. We can trace its origin a little after Mme. Ch. Lenormant's marriage. The young couple had been introduced to M. Guizot, who depicts them as "one of those beautiful examples of happiness which procure to those who can see them a deep feeling of satisfaction concerning the future of the husband." The wedding had taken place in 1826 in the small chapel of the old Abbaye au Bois. M. Ch. Lenormant was then *Attaché à la Maison du Roi* as an inspector of the Fine Arts. He was the son of a notary, of high culture and unimpeachable character. Though left an orphan at a tender age, his education had not been

neglected, and after having received a good university training, he had started on a tour to Italy, where he was attracted by his nascent inclination for Art and Archæology (1824).

At Naples he met his future wife, Mdlle. Amélie Cyvoct, at that time a charming young lady whose ill health had obliged her to settle in the South. The change, it seems, had done her so much good that the ex-queen of Naples, Caroline Murat, writing to Mme. Récamier, mentions it : " I am greatly surprised," the lady says, " at hearing that your young niece, who was so delicate and whose portrait I am just looking at, while I am penning these few lines, has become a handsome and blooming girl."

Amélie Cyvoct was indeed the niece of Mme. Récamier, that exquisite beauty,

. cette Hébée de jeunesse

Que tous les Dieux prendraient peine à servir, *

whose charm was so sweet, whose merit so rare that people are at a loss to know how to decide which of the two, charm or merit, surpasses the other. We will most willingly follow the Duchess of Devonshire's opinion : " First of all she is good, then she is clever, and to finish, she is most beautiful." For Amélie Cyvoct she was kindness itself. In 1811 she had adopted the child, her husband's niece, a mite of five, and from that time she had fondly kept her by her side. Though Mme. Récamier had already sustained heavy losses, she was still well off, and her life did not lack in comfort ; but she soon experienced the cruel effects of Napoleon's displeasure, and dearly paid for her fidelity to Mme. de Stael and her untimely visit to Coppet. An imperial order of exile drove her to Lyons, where she resided till 1813 ; then she started for Italy with her little companion, and came back only in 1814.

With the *Restauration* a new period of worldly success opened for Mme. Récamier, a period as brilliant as the Consulate, still more perhaps. Her political friends were all in favour, and Chateaubriand not only in favour but in power. So that when the last reverses obliged her to take up her residence at the Abbaye au Bois, none of those tried friends deserted her ; she became almost sacred in their eyes, as if anointed by misfortune, and the flock of her worldly acquaintances willingly followed and learnt the way to the modest

* Sainte-Beuve.

retreat of the still fascinating Juliette. No need to insist upon the influence of that refined circle ; it has been often praised and analysed.

When Amélie Cyvoct married M. Ch. Lenormant, she was fully prepared to perform the *rôle* of the wife of a highly cultured man. The association of those excellent minds amongst whom she was accustomed to live had been a marvellous school for one so intelligent, so full of noble aspirations. She soon gave the measure of her self-sacrificing nature in letting her young husband accompany Champollion during his famous trip to Egypt, the antique land of the Pharaohs, whose civilisation was gradually emerging, through the efforts and genius of the great French pioneer. At that time Egypt was not a prey to tourists. There was still a charm in her mysterious isolation. The young traveller's articles in the *Globe* created a real sensation and disposed the public at large to accept the results of Champollion's discoveries.

Charles Lenormant has achieved such a glorious career in the domain of Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismatics, his name has won such a great reputation, that we have nothing to say after men like M. Wallen and Baron de Witte, who have praised him as he deserved.

It was a cruel blow when, after long years of a happy married life, the fatal news of the death of that dearly beloved spouse came from Greece (1859). The following year the widow found a sort of solace in undertaking with her son a melancholy pilgrimage to the tomb of the great French Archæologist. (See letters lxxxviii.—xcii.)*

Successively she lost her charming daughter, then an accomplished son-in-law, M. de Loménie, that austere and conscientious critic whom Taine has praised "in two words which seem weak and are strong. He was an honest man and a good historian." And last her own son, François, who excelled in the different kinds of scientific researches to which he applied his marvellous sagacity.

As a Christian she accepted the cross and humbly bowed to God's will. She had entire self-forgetfulness and preserved to the last her graceful and obliging manners. She was a consummate *maitresse de maison*. In spite of cruel infirmities, though almost a cripple, she still entertained in her *salon*, rue Las Cases, a small and

* Athens jealously kept his heart. His monument is erected near Ottfried Müller's tomb.

select circle whom she fascinated by her interesting and sensible conversation. She was extremely well read and had the pen of a ready writer; she had left to no one the sweet task of speaking of her aunt*; according to Ballanche's wish she made her known after her death, "as she deserved."

Her friends fully appreciated the sound judgment and the efficiency of her advice. Of all those friends perhaps M. Guizot was the dearest. In their correspondence the reader will admire the *ton* which pervades. Who has ever used, when writing to a lady, such expressions, so choice and appropriate, that any translation, it seems, would weaken them, would spoil the exquisite niceties of the language and depreciate the extreme honesty of the meaning.

Let this be a lesson to Eastern readers who so often misconstrue the relations between men and women. When will their prejudices disappear? Let them make a difference between an honest friendship and dangerous flirtations; let them meditate upon those lines written by one of their own philosophers:

Oh! that the nations of the East could be made to realise that it is the secret, silent burning of the flesh that is sinful! That no zenana can save the sinner in such a case! When men and women are allowed to meet openly, on terms of equality, the glamour of sex is bound to disappear. Men and women find it easier to merge sex in friendship or to eliminate it altogether from their friendly relations.

And now—let us open the letters.

The very first—as we have already said—are written from Brompton, where M. Guizot had fled in search of rest; but on his arrival he had found grief. His admirable mother was dead. . . . After a few days of mournful seclusion, he diligently set to work (let. ix) and resumed his intercourse with the political men with whom he had been acquainted at the time of his sojourn in London as French Ambassador. Above all, he was pre-occupied with the fate of France, and was still entertaining the faint hope of conquer-

* *Souvenirs et correspondance tirés des papiers de Mme. Récamier*, 2 Vols., Michel Lévy, 1859. *Madame Récamier, les amis de sa jeunesse et sa correspondance intime*. Paris, 1872.

We must mention also *Coppet et Weimar,—Madame de Stael et la Grande Duchesse Louise*, 1 Vol., Michel Lévy, 1862, *Quatre femmes au temps de la Révolution*. Paris, Didier, 1866. *Lettres de Benjamin Constant*, avec Préface de M. de Loménie. M. Lévy 1884. Mme. Lenormant died on the 18th June 1893,

ing a seat at the *Assemblée Legislative* in order to fight for the principles which he had made the basis of his politics. His correspondence with M. and Mme. Ch. Lenormant was intended for the perusal of the leaders of the Lisieux constituency, by which he expected to be returned to Parliament. He wanted to know exactly their opinion about their reappearance at the tribune, and M. and Mme. Lenormant acted as his devoted intermediaries. Those letters are very important, as they are in fact the only information that we possess concerning M. Guizot's feelings about the fall of his own party and that of the Government in the establishment of which he had taken such a large share—why not add also, to the ruin of which he had certainly contributed? This is plainly admitted (see pp. 56-57).

Coldly received by the Rue de Poitiers Conservative Committee, M. Guizot submitted to that exclusion and accepted their verdict of unpopularity. Did he feel it?—Possibly. However, he stood the blow manfully; he at once dropped the subject and did not come back to France in order to support his electoral interests.

It was only in 1849 that he regained his dear home of Val Richer, leaving his old mother, according to her own wish, in the small cemetery of Kensal Green. On his return, if his feelings were, as he says, "very confused and contradictory," his satisfaction was keen (let. xxiii.). And it so happened that—at 60—in the full enjoyment of health and intelligence, he bravely entered on a new life which for more than twenty-three years, "*Les années de retraite*," was to procure him, as he himself confessed, not *otium* but *laborem cum dignitate*.

When not in Paris his time was spent in his domain of Val Richer near Lisieux (it is the place from where most of the letters are dated), absorbed in his historical studies and engrossed in religious thoughts, till at last he would say that he was ready to answer the call of God, realising in a certain measure the ideal of the East, by devoting the last stage of his life to renunciation and supreme detachment.

He successively published the six volumes of his *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre*, his *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon temps*, the *Méditations sur la Religion chrétienne*, without mentioning other less important works.

In the second part of his correspondence we find an echo of

his personal preoccupations, bearing especially on religious questions, and also on the intellectual movement, of which the *Institut de France* is the centre in Paris. M. and Mme. Ch. Lenormant were again most useful and active informants.

It seems that this retired life did not disagree with him. "Solitude suits me," he writes. "I could rather say that it delights me. I live in company with my past, surrounded by dear and charming shadows; the duration of regrets takes away from them some of their bitterness." And again :

In the course of my life I have lost immensely, but if I have lost so much, the reason is that I have possessed so much, and though nothing replaces those that I have lost, I enjoy much what is still left to me. My son Francis is incessantly present to my mind. He, his mother, my daughter's mother, the dear ones by whom I have been endowed with what true happiness I have tasted here below. They are no more at my side, but I can think of them, nay more, speak of them sometimes without suffering. I always feel the sadness of absence, but it is no more the heartrending anguish of separation. God does not permit, I presume, that we could have a clear sight of the relations which exist, here below, between us and those that we have loved. But I am sure that, in spite of the darkness which separates us, they deeply feel the faithfulness of our hearts.

M. Guizot, in his retreat, was not forgotten. Though the acknowledged leader of a strong opposition to the Imperial rule, people, whatever party they belonged to, used to pay their respects to the venerable patriarch. English friends also were assiduous guests. M. Guizot, as an Ambassador to London, in 1840, had been personally appreciated and had been connected with eminent men who remained faithful to him. In fact, the bent of his exterior politics had been altogether English, and the first visit of the Queen to France in 1843 was the result of his personal efforts. A good part of his unpopularity may be ascribed to that same policy which was distasteful to the bulk of the nation who considered *l'entente cordiale* as a sort of infeudation of the Tuileries and London Cabinets.

Queen Victoria herself did not forget the recluse, and sent him as "a touching testimonial of the fidelity of true love" a splendid copy of Prince Albert's speeches, beautifully bound in white morocco, with a sympathetic dedication. (Let. c. 3rd May, 1863.)

Unknown correspondents asked for his advice. He generally complains of so much forwardness (let. 26 Oct., 1869) ; letters were sometimes ridiculously plentiful and bored him to death. As for instance, the same courier brought messages from a Catholic canon of Carcassonne sending an *abrégé* of the true Religion, from a deaf mute, asking M. Guizot to revise a memo. upon which his future depended ; from an Englishman earnestly requesting an explanation of M. de Broglie's phrase : " M. Guizot is too thoroughly a Frenchman to be thoroughly a Protestant." . . .

The old Abbey was indeed an enchanting home : from the house, built on a small eminence, the eye could command a lovely view of sloping meadows, watered by clear streams, turned into useful agents of cultivation by M. Guizot's sons-in-law, his diligent farmers. Here and there clusters of trees ; beyond the road, close by, the dark woods abounding in game, and on all sides the Norman landscape, intensely green, very much like some parts of the county of Kent.

The writer remembers the beautiful July afternoon when, then a mere child, he saw for the first time M. Guizot and Mme. Lenormant, both pacing to and fro the large alley in front of the house ; a little further on, a sympathetic group, his father, Oppert and François Lenormant—a young man not yet twenty and how promising !—were engaged in a deep conversation about the new problems of ancient history according to the latest Assyrian and Egyptian discoveries. We are obliged to confess that M. Guizot was rather sceptical. The pioneering work of the two scholars seemed to puzzle him. What would remain of the beautiful syntheses of the past generations, if destroyed by new facts coming to light through the deciphering of cuneiform inscriptions !

M. Guizot was very fond of Val Richer.

I have come back to my nest, dear Madam. It is surrounded by the freshest verdure, lit up by the most shining sun. All my children are here ; just now the masons are spoiling the front of the house ; they are opening windows, transforming the wood house into a kitchen, the kitchen into a dining room, the dining room into a library ; but all that will be finished—I hope—before I myself come to an end, and I will be permitted to use my house when definitely repaired, if there is anything definitive in this world, and especially at this time. Along with its

merits, our present civilisation has a vice which displeases me extremely; everything is for life only, and the longing for duration, which is one of the noblest feelings of our soul, does not find in it any satisfaction whatever. Decidedly, God wants us to look for the future elsewhere than here below.

One more passage.

I have resumed my habits. You know them—they are sweet. I sit at work. I go out walking. I live much with my children, much also with the past. That past—I fondle it. I look for it in my memory, till I go to meet it. I take outings by myself. The weather is very fine, my woods are green, my flower-beds in full bloom; my kitchen garden is well supplied. I look at my tulips. I taste my strawberries, I delight in small things while thinking of great ones.

That solitude, so dear to his heart, he steadily clung to. After the great trial of the Franco-German war he declined the offer of the London embassy. (Letter, 28th Feb, 1871.)

At eighty-three, and with my past, the only attitude which suits me is the complete independence and liberty of thought, word and conduct, which I have been enjoying since twenty-three years. I have been, and I am still able when compelled by events, to say, perhaps with some efficiency, what I believe to be true and useful for the honour, the rights and interests of my country, but you must not set foot again in active politics when you cannot accept all the responsibilities by carrying the whole burden.

The reader, if inclined to peruse this interesting correspondence, is sure to find in it the reflection of that *état d'ame* so calm, so detached, that optimism which M. Guizot kept till the end. We can no more attempt to review the different subjects which are treated in the second part than we have been able, in such a short notice, to quote the important passages of the letters written from England.

Now to finish. There is a point which it behoves us to bring into light—the preface, due to the pen of Mgr. de Cabrières, the Bishop of Montpellier. That preface by itself is a teaching, a sign of the times; indeed, it is not common for a Catholic Bishop to speak with such independence and sympathy of a staunch Protestant, especially when we consider that the two men were born in the very land of intolerance, the South of France, in that city of Nîmes,

which has been the theatre of the most deadly feuds between Calvinists and Catholics, and that they were the offspring of two families in utter diversity of political opinions. Regardless of those petty considerations, Mgr. de Cabrières has taken advantage of M. de Loménie's publication to give us an insight into some of M. Guizot's views on Religion, especially about Catholicism. He is most welcome to do it.

It is a fact that M. Guizot has been often accused of partiality for the Church of Rome. In 1861, his own people were even surprised at hearing him, at one of their meetings, not only speaking against the French interference in Italy, but also declaring himself a partisan of the Pope's temporal power. But to what extent was he really inclined towards Catholicism? That is to be ascertained.

Of course, his views were extremely liberal; but we, Catholics, must admit that he simply considered, from a historical standpoint, the Church of Rome as a very useful human Institution which had been served and led by great men; he never went further. In spite of his respectful attitude, there is no appearance that he ever felt anything more than a distant sympathy. As a politician he was certainly anxious to watch the inner workings of the Papal Government and speculated about the probable issue of the struggle, like the looker-on of a complicated game of chess. Nothing more. M. Guizot has never swerved one moment; never would he have submitted to the Pope, never become a Romanist.

Mgr. de Cabrières states clearly that, being born a Protestant, he remained a Protestant, and may be, in that respect as in some others, he has even made a merit of his obstination. (These words are his own.) "Whenever I believe that I am right," he used to say, "the whole universe cannot influence my opinion."

However, in presence of M. Guizot's virtues and talents, the eminent prelate cannot help expressing the regret that a man of that stamp has not been enlisted in the ranks of Catholicism. And he hopes that the union which has not been attained visibly on this earth will be accomplished in the presence of God—in Eternity, where all divisions are cancelled, and God—*One*—will admit all His children in the unity of His divine and changeless truth!

We must acknowledge that M. de Loménie, who has already done so much for his father's memory in continuing and publishing his

stupendous work on Mirabeau, has done as much for his noble grandmother. We have to thank him also for having allowed us to benefit by the views of Mgr. de Cabrières who so earnestly advocates the beautiful virtue of tolerance, a virtue which—as Quinet says—is “the very spirit of our time, the idea without which modern society cannot be conceived.”

D. MENANT.

THE "ELS" IN MODERN ENGLISH WORDS.

IT is astonishing how far back many words in ordinary use at the present day will take us. Not only to Latin and Greek, to Spanish and Italian, to the Gaelic or to the Welsh branch of the great Keltic family of tongues, to the sacred Sanskrit itself, but to Semitic, to early Arabic and Hebrew, and even Phœnician; if indeed it may not be that such words as *cherub* and *cherubim*, and Sabbath (*sabbataw*, "a day of rest for the heart," so found on one of the most ancient cuneiform or arrow-headed vocabularies yet met with), take us to Accad, in the days long before Abraham. Words, like other things, are continually changing, if they do not always, like the late Lord Tennyson's sea-shell,

"Take the wear and polish of the wave."

But there too is a long-lasting solid Conservative Party that gives backbone and continuity; enabling us to identify and to trace elements to their origin, and what is yet more, showing that in the making, our language, like most others, tells no race or nation exists or can exist for itself alone, but is always giving to, or getting from, others. In order definitely to narrow our range, however, and to get order and connection, let us take now the group of words from old Semitic sources, which show their origin by the Semitic definite article *El* or *Al*, attached to them.

To begin with a word which everyone knows—which teetotallers hate, and some others love association with, not wisely but too well—take Alcohol. It was on account of the very remarkable descent and the interesting associations of this word that I was led to write this article. If you turn to the book of the Prophet Ezekiel XXIII., 40, (where the Prophet deals in that severe and terrible

strain with the sins of Judah and Samaria under the figures of two women, Aholah and Aholibah, you will read :—

“Ye have sent for men to come from afar, unto whom a messenger (Hebrew מַלְאָךְ (malach) messenger, with a final י ‘i’ added, it is then Malachi, my messenger), was sent, and lo, they came for whom thou didst wash thyself, *paintedst thy eyes*, and bedeckest thyself with ornaments.”

The word for “paintedst” here is פָּחַלְתָּ (Kaholet), and when I turned to my lexicons I found that kahol (פָּחַל) meant to streak or colour, especially with dark pigment, and that the Arabic كحل *Kahal* or *Kohl* meant precisely the same thing. The practice of many of the Hebrew women, therefore, in the time of Ezekiel and earlier, was to paint the inner sides of the eyelids with a coloured fluid, as clearly also did many of the Arabic women. The phrase was first applied to any fine powders produced by sublimation, and then by extension to fluids, with the idea of essence, quintessence, and especially to rectified spirits—those of wine being especially *alcohols* or *kohls* of wine. And it is clear that the practice of painting the eyelids with this Kahal or Kohl is still in fashion among some of the women of the East, or at all events was so in 1632, for we find Sandys in his “Travels” writing: “They put between the eyelids and the eye a certain liquid made from a black powder that is made from a mineral brought from the Kingdom of Fez and called *alkahole*.” Now, is it not strange that the custom of women in the East from far antiquity, Hebrew as well as women of other races, of painting the eyes, should, through a series of slight changes of application, have given us the general name for a whole class of commodities which are sometimes said to do so much mischief that an Ezekiel of our time would probably speak of them even in stronger terms than Ezekiel did of *alkohole* of old, yet taken in moderation are often said even by medical men to be the best of medicines?

Another word used for the same substance and the same process was פֹּחַךְ (*puch*), which, in the Septuagint is *stimmi* and in the Vulgate, *stibium*. Jeremiah and Isaiah use this word instead of Ezekiel’s פָּחַלְתָּ and פָּחַל. In the form פֹּחַךְ it was used in the Chaldean; showing, as Dr. Davies says, probably affinity with the

Sanskrit *pig*, whence comes the Latin *pingo*, and our own word, pigment. If this should really be so, then we have another set of phrases directly tracing themselves to Hebrew and Chaldean; so that, when an artist of to-day speaks of his pigments, he may be regarded as really carrying us back to Chaldean, Hebrew, Egyptian and Hindu women, who in the painting of their eyes, thus originated the terms still used for the instruments and materials needful for painting—pigments and palette.

It is clear enough, however, that several other things from various reasons also, in course of time, got the name of *kohl*, owing to one property or aspect or another, more or less recalling or resembling the original *kohl*; and perhaps even in those early days there were mixtures and adulterations, and competing counterfeits. Burton supports this view in his translation of the seventy-ninth Arabian Night:

"So he bade him work the shears, and cut the copper into bittocks and cast it into the crucible, and blow up the fire with the bellows, till the copper became liquid, when he put hand to turband and took therefrom a folded paper and, opening it, sprinkled thereout into the pot about half a drachm of somewhat like yellow *kohl* or eye-powder"; and to this he has the following note: "There are many kinds of *kohls*, (Hind., Sarma and Kajjal), used in medicine and magic (see Herklots, p. 227)." (*Arabian Nights*, Vol. VIII., p. 10.) In an earlier volume Burton had already written by way of note to a certain passage this which goes to show that *kohl* at first may have been found serviceable by the Arabs for protection to the eyes, and that the women may have got a hint from this:—

"Arab women mostly use a preparation of soot or lamp-black (Hind., kajala, kajjal), whose colour is easily distinguished from that of *kohl*. The latter word with the article (*Al-kohl*) is the origin of our 'alcohol,' though even Littré fails to show how fine powder became 'spirits of wine!' I found this powder (wherewith Jezebel painted her eyes) a great preservative from ophthalmia in desert-travelling; the use in India was universal, but now European example is gradually abolishing it." (*Arabian Nights*, Vol. I. p. 59.) A still more curious and extraordinary thing is that the word for horse in Arabia has a distinct reference to *kohl*. We read in the interesting book of a daring traveller and fine scholar the following:—

"Kheilan, the generic name of the true Arabian horse, is derived from the Arabic word كحل, khl, or kuhl, or kuhal, signifying antimony, and was given to the Arabian horse, doubtless from the great resemblance which his skin (not only in the face, but all over the body) has to antimony, and not alone from the similar appearance of the eye of the Arabian horse to that of the human eye when painted with antimony. The skin of the Arabian horse is a bluish-black and often presents a strong resemblance to skin painted with antimony." (Major R. D. Upton, *Gleanings from the Desert of Arabia*, p. 271.)

It is, indeed, very extraordinary that we find the word Alcohol used not for a liquid but for a fine powder in England during the 17th century and later. Appended to the "Opera omnia" of Van Helmont, the Dutch physician, published in 1707, we find this passage :

ALCOHOL—Chymicis est liquor aut pulvis summé subtilisatus, vocabulo Orientalis quoque cum primus Habessinīs, familiari, quibus cohōl speciatum pulverem impalpabilem ex antimonio pro oculis tingendis denotat. Hodie autem ob analogium quivis pulvis tenerior, ut pulvis oculorum caneri summé subtilisatus alcohol audit, haud aliter ac spiritus rectificatissimi *alcolisati* dicuntur.

Robert Boyle spoke of a fine powder as "alcohol," and, in the middle of last century, Nathan Bayley, in his Dictionary, defines "alcohol" as the pure substance of anything separated from the mere dross, a very fine and impalpable powder, or a very pure, well-rectified spirit. In Lavoisier's "Traité élémentaire de Chimie," published in 1789, the term "alcohol" was primarily applied to "spirits of wine," and no reference was made to its having, so short a time, before been applied to a fine powder, and only secondarily to spirits of wine.

And we find Bacon, in the "Natural History," thus writing :

"The Turks have a black powder made of mineral called *alcohol*, which, with a fine long pencil, they lay under their eyelids, which doth colour them."

Another very peculiar point arises here. The name of one of Job's daughters was Keren-happuch. Now, this קֶרֶן-הַפִּיּוֹךְ means pigment-horn, or girl of the pigment-horn, or painted, or painting-girl; and, to my mind, this goes a good way to prove that Job was not written till long after the date it bears, and that the names

were all invented and fanciful ; for, in that part and in those primitive days, it is hardly possible that girls could have painted their eyes with *kahol* or any other pigment : or, indeed, could have used pigments properly so called of any kind whatever, or that pigment horns were really then in use or even in existence at all, although this name would imply that they were in common use, when a child was named after one of them. And then the question arises how, if the name was given to the infant, this could be at all appropriate. Either this, or the more artificial arts of refinement and luxury were practised in the time of Job as attested by proper names. *Jenima* might pass. It is יְמִימָה, and means dove, coming from the root יָמַם or יָמָם which is warm, bright, amorous, loving. But Job itself, really אֵיּוֹב, which means the much injured, hated or tried, seems, as indeed do so many mythological names, too strictly to anticipate the history, as indeed we find it in Hagar (Flight) as well as in Ulysses, for Ὀδυσσεύς comes directly from ὀδυσσομαι to hate, or to be injured or hated. And so, led this way by Keren-happuch—horn of pigment—we get a suggestion about the date and character of this earliest and greatest of the poems which deal with Providence or Fate, Freewill, Foreknowledge absolute, and the ways of God with man in His submitting him to suffering, loss and pain.

Years ago I had a good deal to do in aiding a Dutchman to write English. He would always say or write the *Dorado* for the *El Dorado*, and so with some analogous words. On my correcting them, he would argue (for he was a scholar), "Why, *El* is the Arabic article : the English language must have a big mout', when she can swallow two articles all at once." Yet I had to assure him she had a big mout,' and could and did swallow two articles at once, that he was right in his statements, but that "use and wont" was everything in these cases, and that the *Eldorado* and not the *Dorado* was the right word. He erred in this case, not because he was ignorant, but because he was a scholar. *El Dorado* simply means "the Gilt" ; and was applied to what was thought to be a land of treasure—a rich, auriferous tract of country. In Milton's "Paradise Lost" we have it :—

Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons
Call *El Dorado*.

In Alchemy, it is said, we have a mixture—some (among them Professor Skeat) give it as article *Al* put in front of the Greek *χημεία* chemistry, which is really a late form of *χυμεία* a mingling or pouring together, from the root *χυ* to pour out; but more probably it is from the Hebrew *חם* Arabic, *ح* to heat; Chymistry, Alchymistry being often defined as the science of heat. Most probably it is this (*chem*) *חם* with the Arabic article “*Al*” which goes to make our word Alchemy, as the *chem* goes to make chemistry. Some have said that it is from the Egyptian *khem*, meaning black earth, but that is not so likely. In Alembic, again, we have a word drawn through various mediums from the Arabic. Anbik in Arabic is a still, and with *Al*, the definite article in front of it, and the “*m*” for the “*n*,” which comes in the passage of the word through the Greek, where it was confused with *ἀμβή* the foot of a goblet, or *ἄμβιε* a cup, or goblet, we have Alembic.

Algebra is a very suggestive word in its descent. It also comes from the Arabic, and indicates at how early a stage the Arabs had become expert calculators as well as experimenters and chemists. Algebra is a contraction or corruption of *Al jabr wa al mukabalah*, which means the putting of parts together and the equation. Prof. E. H. Palmer, in his Dictionary, gives as the meaning of *jabr*, restoration, setting a bone; reducing fractions to integers in arithmetic: *Al jabr wa' l'mukabalah*, Algebra. *Jabara* in Arabic is to bind together, to consolidate, and *mukabalah* is literally comparison; so that Algebra is the short for binding together and sorting out by equation or comparison—a definition which Algebraists generally will admit to be good and expressive.

Alkali, again, is from the Arabic *qali*, the name given to the ashes of the plant glass-wort (*salicornia*) which contains a large proportion of soda. Some derive *qali* from the Arabic verb *qalay*, to fry, *qalayah* being a fricasse or curry; but the former is the most likely, and, with the Arabic article *Al*, gives us our common word alkali.

Almanack, too, is from the Arabic, and indirectly, it may be, from the Hebrew. There we have *מָנָה* (*mannah*) to count, to reckon, to measure out (the Arabic is the same) and from this *מִנָּה* a number, or a portion or weight, from which, indeed, some

trace our words *mine*, *money*, *mint*. The Arabic من *mana*, to count, to measure time, is kindred with *it*, and gives rise to *manay*, to work, to determine; and *manaya* or *manakh* means anything definite or fixed in time; hence *al-manakh*, a set record of such—almanack.

Elixir likewise comes to us from the olden East. In Hebrew צור (*sur*) is a stone: *ik* in Arabic is philosopher, and *sir* is stone: thus with the definite article "El" we have "the philosopher's stone," *Eliksir*; the whole process suggesting the dry residuum left in the retort after the experiment has been made.

The article אל (*el*) in Hebrew at an early period passed out of general use, and as we shall show immediately, by assimilation due to enclitism, became ה before a noun and part of it; yet in some words it is most peculiarly retained; and these words are very significant. One of them is that from which we derive our word *algum* which is corrupted to *almug* in one place in I. Kings X. 11, 12. The original word in the Hebrew is אַלְגוּמִים plural אַלְגוּמִים (*sandalwood*, *sandalwood trees*). Some would fain hold that the *mug* is right and that the *gum* is the corruption, arguing that the word is מוֹג derived from the Sanskrit *mocha*; sandalwood trees growing only in India and there chiefly on the Malabar coast. Professor Max Müller, however, derives it from the Sanskrit *valguka*, and says that the original form of this was *valgu, ka* being merely a suffix, and that this might easily have been corrupted by Phœnician and Jewish sailors into *algum*. However this may be, in this *algum* or *almug* we have one of the words in which the old Hebrew article *El* is maintained; and it is thus very like a fossilised specimen of a long past life, telling, as does the figure of the fish on the stone, of a former world of sound and life and activity.

Alcove is another word we get direct from the East. It is often thought that it has something to do with the English word *cove*: but this is a mistake. It comes to us, as so many Eastern things have done, through the Spanish, and is Arabic. It comes from the word *qobbah* or *qubbah*, a vaulted place or tent, and this with the

article Al before it, yields us our common word *alcove*. קִבְּהָ (qubah) alcove or tent, is also Hebrew.

Elephant comes to us in perhaps a yet stranger way. In days before Sanskrit had been so closely studied, much ingenuity was devoted by scholars to prove that Elephant came to us from the Hebrew or the Phœnician, either from אֵלֶף (aleph) or from *eleph*, which in either case means an ox, the largest animal, and that when the elephant came to be known, eleph was transferred to it as being the largest animal. Then some said that the old Anglo-Saxon *Olfend* (which was used to mean a camel, Mark 1—6), when elephants were introduced, was taken and applied to them, and through old French influence, *Olfend* was modified to *olifant*, which is to be found in Chaucer and in Langland, and other early English writers, and with the “ph” instead of “f,” has become a well-known English surname. But the Sanskrit throws light upon it—the word is derived from the Sanskrit *ebhas*, elephant, with the Semitic article חֵל or אֵל prefixed.

There is the word magazine too, which has very narrowly escaped being Almagazine, which has come about in this way. In Hebrew we have חָסַן (khasin), which means to bind together, to amass, to be wealthy, and from it comes the noun חָסֶן riches, wealth. In Arabic the word is nearly the same خَزَن (khazin), and with the ه which, just as in Hebrew, is prefixed to add definiteness or emphasis, we have مَخْزَن makhazin. The definite article Al is often prefixed, and then we have Almakhazin; and, curiously enough, this article is retained in Spanish Almagascen. Not improbably we derived this word through the Spanish, but dropped the “Al” in this case.

Thus we see that in language we owe a little to the Arabs, as we do to the Hebrews, for though we are apt to think of the former as mere nomads, rangers of the desert, they early discovered great gifts for many sciences, and gave impulse to thought and to discovery in many directions. When Greek or European thought met with Eastern and Semitic culture at Alexandria and other points, the Oriental and Arabic element found much to excite inquiry and urge to new effort, and did its part in turn to give its peculiar

colour or tint to Neo-Platonic development, as Charles Kingsley, for one, well showed in his "Alexandria and her Schools" and in his fine romance of "Hypatia."

In the "Century Dictionary" I read: "Other languages, as Hebrew and Greek, have the definite article only." Now, would it be supposed from this that the Hebrew language has strictly no article at all—no article which appears really as a separate word, and this certainly the "Century Dictionary" writer would lead one to suppose. "It nowhere occurs in Hebrew," says Gesenius, "as a separate or independent word, but always as a part, and in closest connection with the word before which it stands." It becomes, exactly like the ו (waw) or *and* and *even*, a mere portion of the noun, and gender and number do not in any way influence its form. This matter is most distinctly connected with our subject, the "*El*s in Modern English Words," and in this way: the ה is clearly a mere modification of הַל the ל in which has been assimilated. It is precisely the same as in the Arabic هَلْ, which is pronounced *hal* by the modern Arabs. Gesenius says that this assimilation or absorption of the ל is really to be accounted for by the absolutely enclitic nature of the article. The original form of the הַל—the demonstrative pronoun *this*—is still strangely found in use in certain constructions and connections and is written הֶלֶז or הֶלֶזוּ, as for example הַשְׁנָמִית הֶלֶז "this Shunamitess"—literally, "the Shunamitess this."

The original form of the article appears in many words in the Hebrew adopted from the Arabic, and even from Hindi or Sanskrit, as in אֶלְגֻּמִּים sandalwood הָאֵלֶּהִים and ὁ exactly illustrate whether the two languages can properly be grouped together with respect to the definite article, as the "Century Dictionary" writer groups them. The one has an independent, separate definite article and the other has not.

It is the fact of this inseparableness of the definite article from the noun in the Semitic languages which has led to the apparent anomaly in some cases of a definite article in the foreign languages into which the word has been adopted being put before the original article, presenting thus a reduplication of articles. "The Koran" is all

right, but we often have "the Alkoran," as in Spanish we have "Almagascen" with the Spanish article in front of that, directly analogous with the *Eldorado* which so puzzled my scholarly Dutch friend, as I have told. So precisely the same thing applies to all the preceding words I have dealt with, with our very common word *alcohol* (for we might well speak of an alcohol law, the alcohol or "the alcohol Bill"), and all the rest of them. If the Semitic tongues had really had a separate and independent definite article, this could hardly have been, at all events to such an extent, the case.

ALEXANDER H. JAPP.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN ASIA AND EUROPE.

THE late China war, in which nearly all the great nations of the world took part, reminds us of the mediæval religious wars called the Crusades. We find interesting similarities and contrasts between the two struggles of East and West. The Eastern extremity instead of the Western was the theatre of war. Pekin instead of Jerusalem was the bone of contention. Count Waldersee, as the most prominent figure in the China War, represented Godfrey de Bouillon. As there was rivalry between Richard and Philip, a rivalry which resulted in the failure of the Crusade, so did we hear that the powers could not be agreed in dividing the spoils of war peacefully among themselves.

We find still finer points of comparison between the Crusades and the Siege of Troy. The situation of Acre closely resembles that of the old city of the Trojans. Philip Augustus, Richard and Saladin are very good parallels to Agamemnon, Achilles and Hector.

Again, if we compare the invasion of the Arabs and Turks in Europe, we find that the former entered the continent from the West and the latter from the East. The Arabs crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, and the Turks made their way through the Bosphorus. The advance of the Arabs was arrested at the plains of Tours, that of the Turks at Vienna. Abdur Rahman the Great was to the Arabs what Soliman the Magnificent was to the Turks. As the possessions of the Arabs dwindled gradually to the city of Grenada, so are those of the Turks narrowing and narrowing to Constantinople.

If we take a careful, retrospective view of History, we find not only similarities and contrasts, but also a continuity in the struggles between East and West. We find Asia and Europe always combating for supremacy, and we find the history of their struggles inexhaustible in its interest and momentous in its consequences. In the first scene of the struggle Asia was represented by the might and grandeur of the Persians, and Europe by the heroic patriotism of the Greeks. On the one side were myriads of sturdy Persians; and on the other a handful of deter-

mined and redoubtable Greeks. The battles of Marathon, Thermopyle and Salamis were fought, battles which very nearly decided the future of the two continents.

After some time, when all the important city states of Greece were brought under the suzerainty of Alexander, he set out for the conquest of Asia at the head of a splendid army. He overran Persia, and sweeping over the snowy mountains of Afghanistan, defeated the brave king Porus and reached as far as the banks of the Sutlej. After his death, his vast empire was divided into several portions. The resuscitation of the Persians soon followed, who kept at bay the bravest armies of the Romans in many sanguinary contests.

We turn, now, to a more interesting scene of the struggle. The Phœnicians of Northern Africa were the great defenders of Asia against Europe. They entered into a life and death struggle with the Romans, the champions of Europe. On the one side was Carthage, with her enormous wealth, commerce and colonisation; on the other was Rome, with her inexhaustible vitality, far-sighted statesmanship and plodding perseverance. On the one side were generals such as Hamilcar Barca and his equally great sons Hannibal and Hadrubal; on the other side were cautious Maximian and the wise Scipios. The contest, which was long and full of vicissitudes, came to a close by the battle of Zama.

In the seventh century, the cause of Asia was taken up by the Arabs, when the Roman Empire was at its last gasp. When Christianity was broken up into rival sects, when idolatry was practised in its worst form, there arose, in the streets of Mecca, a voice announcing that God is one, that God is Great. On the principle of religion, the Arabian Prophet brought many jarring elements together, and uniting hostile tribes into a nation, he founded a formidable Theocracy which under his worthy successors was soon expanded into an Empire. Never was seen a religion more enthusiastically preached than Islam, never was seen a conquest more rapidly made than that effected by the early Moslem heroes. They conquered a large portion of the Eastern Empire, and having crossed Northern Africa they attacked the Spanish monarchy in overwhelming numbers. They threw it down and then marched off to France. Here they met with a repulse at Tours and the flood of the Arabian conquest was stopped.

In the Middle Ages, the struggle between the East and the West became tremendous. The Western adventurers poured down upon Palestine in all their feudal barbarity, in all their religious fanaticism. They were successful as long as Islam was divided, but once united,

the Arabs, Turks and Kurds drove away the Christians from the Holy Land. More than nine attempts were made by Europe to recover its hold upon Palestine, but with no result ; and at last it was obliged to give up the attempt altogether.

Now the Turks appear on the stage. They at first destroyed and then revived the Arab civilisation. They embraced Islam in its orthodoxy and became its champions against Christianity. What could not be carried out by the resistless zeal of the Arabs was performed by the stubbornness of the Turks. It was they who captured Acre ; it was they who captured Constantinople which had baffled the reiterated attacks of the Arabs.

In the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Turks rose to considerable importance. Slowly and steadily they advanced on Europe. Murads and Bajzets, Mahomets and Solimans, astonished the world by their splendid victories and military exploits. Twice did the Turks besiege Vienna, twice were they repulsed. From the seventeenth century their power began to decline. The defective constitution of Turkey and the corruption of the official classes are precipitating their fall. In spite of the soldierly qualities which they possess, their empire, which is composed of heterogeneous nationalities, is dwindling day by day. The envious eyes of all the European powers are set upon Constantinople, and the energy of all European statesmen is devoted to the solution of the Eastern Question.

Asia in the past had been the teacher of Europe in all matters, spiritual as well as temporal. Being a continent where every natural object and phenomenon is gigantic, imposing, awe-inspiring ; where lofty mountains stand in their threatening attitude ; where huge rivers roll in their majesty ; where angry storms of wind and thunder rage with all their terrors ; where ferocious beasts roam in its dark and impenetrable forests ; where there lie vast sandy deserts with the moon and stars shining above in their enchanting lights ; it has afforded peculiar opportunities to man of solving the mysteries of the Universe and consequently it has been the hearthstone of all religions.

Again, Asia, being more fertile than Europe and richer in natural resources, was the first continent where civilisation germinated. The blessed monsoons, laden with enormous quantity of rain, and the beautiful network of rivers formed by the Ganges and its tributaries, laid immeasurable wealth at the disposal of the Hindus, who could most conveniently devote their time and energy to intellectual pursuits. The waters of the Nile were not only the fertilisers of the Egyptian soil

but also of Egyptian intellect and imagination. But soon ripe, soon rotten. The civilisation so rapidly acquired was as rapidly lost. The Arabs rose like a whirlwind, expanded their dominions with a velocity characteristic of a whirlwind; their stay was as short and transitory, their exit was as sudden as that of a whirlwind. On the other hand, we find a sort of continuity and progress in European civilisation, being the outcome of the exertions of *man* himself and not the result of the external force of *nature* as in the case of Asia. It is no wonder, then that Asia has had its day. It is now lying in saturnine repose; while Europe is active and energetic like young Jove. Eastern civilisation has become old and stationary, and Western civilisation, being more perfect and more sublime, has come to take its place. The East has abdicated its power; and the West has boldly come forward with all the "virile force and hopefulness of youth." If such is the case, has Asia, then, no longer any leading part to play in the historical drama of the world? Must we be hopeless of its regeneration? I see that there is a great future in store for it. Its vitality is still lying dormant; its vast mineral wealth is still unexplored; its boundless lands are still uncultivated; it is still the land of pearls, diamonds and spices. The nations who inhabit it have yet to develop their faculties. Who knows what a fine and strong nation will the sturdy Afghans turn out to be? The history of Afghanistan has been singularly glorious. It has been the land of great conquerors and wants but time and wise leadership in order to become a great power.

The Persians are not a weak nation to be easily subdued and conquered. Their bloody and continual wars with the Greeks, Romans, Tartars, Arabs and Turks; the critical vicissitudes through which they have passed; the brunt of ages which they have borne; their reverses and their equally numerous successes; their marvellously resourceful vitality—all this speaks volumes for their hopeful future.

Western civilisation is transforming the whole of Asia. Remarkable changes are taking place in India. England is not so much her conqueror as her teacher and civiliser. Innumerable institutions have been established for the pursuit of useful and liberal education on the part of the Indians. The all-round progress which they have made is astonishing for its rapidity and importance. Both the Hindus and Mahomedans, with their past glorious traditions to excite their imagination and inspire them with noble sentiments, with golden opportunities offered to them under the peaceful, tolerant and benign rule of the British Government, with the example of such distinguished men as Sir

Sayed Ahmad and Ram Mohan Roy to guide them, have in my opinion, a bright future to beckon them on in the march of civilisation.

The Chinese combine in themselves great "military virtues," with skilfulness in arts and workmanship. The bitter lessons which they are being taught will lead in all possibility to their awakening and reorganisation. They will play a very important part in the coming commercial and economic struggle. The "yellow danger" is already being felt in Europe and America. Jealousy and prejudice on the part of their rivals have debarred them from exercising their industrial powers in America and Australia.

Little Japan has startled the world by the readiness with which she has adopted European civilisation and the splendid achievements she has made. Her commercial and industrial activity and the vast accumulation of her military and naval strength have raised her to such an important position that the greatest power of the world has accepted her friendship with triumphant applause and hearty enthusiasm.

ZARIF MOHAMMAD.

FANCY RELIGIONS.

BY the use of the word "Fancy," for want of a more expressive term, I must not be understood to mean that there is anything purely fanciful in the new religions that are springing up on every side, nor to imply that they are dreams which will vanish away with their originators and interpreters. Quite the contrary. Notwithstanding the criminal tendency of many unscrupulous persons to trade on the growing desire of mankind for novelty in spiritual as in temporal matters, several of these new developments of religious questions have reached a stage at which some have become a standing menace to the recognised forms of Christian worship, and others direct and defiant enemies of the Christian faith itself.

In nothing is the individual character of the age more strikingly manifested than in the multiplicity and diversity of sects into which religious London is divided; and what London does to-day, the provinces and colonies will do to-morrow, and the day after.

It is stated that there are no less than six hundred varieties of what may be called Protestantism, in contradistinction to Roman Catholicism, all based on the fundamental principles of Christianity, yet varying from their fellows in what, to an outsider, appears an insignificant, but, no doubt, to its votaries, is a vital point. Besides this large number of Christian communities there are many societies the members of which accept Christian ethics, and endeavour to shape their lives and conduct in conformity with the sublime teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, and yet concede no greater share of Divinity to Christ than to Buddha or Mahomet.

The spread of education, the daily occurring discoveries of science, make the present and rising generations as unlike their forefathers as inhabitants of another planet. The feverish, restless

life of a huge metropolis produces a peculiar development of the human race, eager, like the Athenians of old, "to tell or to hear some new thing." Dwellers in a great city unconsciously absorb much of the fragmentary knowledge with which the very air teems, in addition to the mass of information on every subject under the sun disseminated by countless schools and seminaries. Is it any wonder that mental and moral indigestion often follows? Discontent and dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, religious and political socialism, sometimes degenerating into Anarchism, are among the pronounced symptoms of the prevailing malady. In all classes there has arisen a general craving for other, and it is hoped, better, nutriment for the mind and soul as well as for the body.

The numerous anti-clerical riots that have lately taken place on the continent, and the struggle now going on in the South American Republics between the partisans of Church and State bear abundant testimony to the far-reaching consequences of this universal spirit of opposition, this impatience of control, this breaking away from old and established opinions to strike out new paths and discover fresh anchorages. Such a subject is altogether too vast to come within the scope of this article; I merely refer to it as one among various reasons assigned for the emptying of the regular churches and the filling of the unorthodox places of worship.

In all civilised countries it has become impossible to many to continue holding the faiths of their fathers, or to give implicit credence to the beautiful stories learnt at their mothers' knees. On the other hand, in all ages and in all climes, there are those who are naturally devout, whose temperaments are capable of religious fervour, and whose characters need the stimulus and support of some force outside themselves, some influence that appeals to their higher attributes. In spite of the progress of events, and surroundings that make for radical change, there are still multitudes of pious and intelligent men and women who would prefer to think "the old religion good enough for them"; who, finding the stereotyped services to which they have been accustomed from childhood grow increasingly monotonous, employ various expedients to fix their wandering attention. One is the use of a foreign translation of the Book of Common Prayer, the leaves of which cannot be turned over with the mechanical familiarity that long habit has made possible with

the English version. A great help is to acquire an intellectual interest in the service by learning the reasons for the order exercised, the why and wherefore of the method of arrangement of canticles, prayers and hymns. Ritualism, perhaps, offers the best security for sustained attention by punctuating Divine worship with certain elaborate ceremonials, and appropriate gestures and genuflections. Thought cannot wander far when the mind is occupied in remembering when to bow and when to make the sign of the cross, these apparent trivialities all serving a definite and deep-laid purpose for both priest and people. The picturesque and unique means adopted by the Rev. W. Carlile, at the quaintly named church of St. Mary-at-Hill, are also excellent for interesting a congregation in the long known yet always beautiful formularies of the Established Church.

Intelligent ministers of all denominations are not slow to perceive the signs of the times, and are doing all they can to make their services attractive. Putting aside all other reasons for absence, the clergy are fully aware that the opening of Museums, Picture Galleries and Concert Halls on Sunday afternoons must seriously interfere with the attendance at the churches, and that it therefore behoves them to strain every nerve to draw a congregation. I do not, of course, here include Roman Catholic Priests; the laws of the marvellous ecclesiastical system to which they belong are as those of the Medes and the Persians which alter not: what the Roman Church is now, it has been for centuries past, and will, probably, remain for years to come. Anglicans and Nonconformists, however, realise the danger, and see the advisability of moving with the times; many of them are doing all in their power—often laying themselves open to cruel misconstruction—to bring back the erring ones who are being enticed away from the fold.

A casual glance at the newspapers will show to what lengths the latter-day clergy are prepared to go to "compel them to come in." The following extract, taken at random from a London daily, gives a case in point: "At Gorleston, yesterday, Mrs. Brown Potter gave a recitation at the end of a service, which began with a procession of the clergy and choir singing 'Forward be our watchword.' Mrs. Brown Potter, to the accompaniment of organ and choir, recited Pope's 'Ode to the Soul.'"

At St. George's Chapel, Albemarle Street, the Rev. Dr. Ker Gray has inaugurated a successful new departure by holding after-dinner services on Sundays, to which many of his hearers come in evening dress. While of many of the services, both Anglican and Nonconformist, announced for the morrow in the Saturday issue of the principal journals, "Orchestral bands" are advertised as a special feature. The position of music as the handmaid of religion is now universally understood. Board schools have so cultivated the ears of the masses that people will not endure, much less suffer gladly what passed for a musical service a few years ago. Instead of the tuning fork, once the only guide vouchsafed to the vocal efforts of Dissenters, in most chapels dependence is now-a-days placed on trained musicians, and there is no longer any necessity to shout in self-defence.

It will thus be seen that modern preachers, very wisely and rightly, study the taste, and adapt themselves to the convenience of the public. In spite of these laudable efforts, curiosity, a desire for novelty, a craving for excitement, and sometimes a very real hunger and thirst after righteousness, carry increasing numbers to the gatherings of the Ethical and Psychic Societies, or to the Theistic and Christian Science Churches, to name only four of the numerous meetings that take place every Sabbath day, and which are attended by well-dressed, and, to all appearance, cultured men and women. It is a noteworthy fact that the fashionable audiences thronging to hear these new doctrines, or old doctrines in new guise, are largely composed of men; of course women preponderate, but the proportion of the sexes is more nearly equal than at any of the ordinary places of public worship in England.

Taking these four as typical of the religious movement which is exercising so marked an influence on educated people of the present day, it will be noticed that two at least—Christian Science and the Teachings of the Psychical Society—are entirely compatible with the profession and practice of Christianity. The very name of the former implies its agreement with the accepted tenets of the Christian Faith, while Madame Florence Montague, the leader of the latter cult, asserts that spiritualism is of the essence of Christianity.

Dr. Washington Sullivan, the founder of the English branch of the Ethical Society, though repudiating the Divinity of the Christ as

he would that of any merely human priest or prophet for whom his followers claimed supernatural powers, declares with Immanuel Kant that "Religion is Morality recognised as a Divine command," and Jesus our great Exemplar.

At the Theistic Church Mr. Voysey and his son conduct services in the main like those of the Church of England, with the essential difference that no reference is made to the Trinity, the Incarnation, nor to any of the fundamental dogmas supporting purely Christian doctrines.

To some minds the thoughtful and closely reasoned discourses of keenly intelligent and able lecturers afford much intellectual enjoyment as well as helpful moral guidance ; to others the mysticism of Spiritualism—using the word in its most elevated sense—and the fascination of the occult, appeal more effectually. From each and all, as from every form of sincere devotion, the earnest inquirer, the real seeker after good, can derive some benefit. These leaders of sects, these "setters forth of strange doctrines" present Truth and Goodness in different, sometimes altogether novel, ways, but the Eternal Verities remain the same—it is for the listener to accept or reject the new theories in whole or in part.

Time and space will not permit any mention of the Catholic Apostolic Church, now in a peculiar difficulty owing to the death of its last Apostle, and anxiously awaiting further angelic revelation ; the Theosophical Society which is establishing branches in many continental towns ; the stupendous organisation of the Salvation Army ; or the dozens of other communities maintained by diverse sections of the public. To give anything like a clear idea of religious London, however, it will be necessary to deal separately with the four prominent leaders of independent thought already alluded to, Dr. Washington Sullivan, Madame Florence Montague, Mr. Voysey, and Mr. Miller, First Reader of the Church of Christian Science. A description of the Rev. W. Carlile's most interesting services may be considered as an example of the strenuous efforts made by advanced members of the Church of England not merely to retain her ancient influence, but to extend and develop it in all possible directions.

THE GREAT SEPARATION.

IT appears to be widely believed that there is a great, and well-nigh hopeless, separation between the East and the West. Mr. Rudyard Kipling seems to accept it as final and unalterable, though, as is the way of poets, he rather illustrates the fact than seeks to account for it. Mr. Townsend, again, regards the condition as irrevocable, and he attributes it mainly to mental reserve on the part of the Eastern. This explanation has not been generally accepted, the Bishop of Bombay, among others, earnestly repelling it. And, indeed, reluctance to speak of the deepest concerns of human life seems to pertain more markedly to the Englishman than to the Indian. A third writer has recently attributed the mutual repulsion of the East and the West merely to the difference of colour. This seems to be an attempt at explanation, as inadequate in itself as it would be unworthy of humanity. And though it cannot be asserted that there is *nothing* in it, yet the past history of the English in India and the existence of the large Indo-European population sufficiently indicate that there is no such dominating repugnance as the explanation would imply. Again, a certain amount of antipathy is found to exist even when the difference of colour is too slight to be material. And again, the aloofness of the Englishman towards the Indian is said to be much less marked in England than in India, though the conditions of colour are the same in both places.

The real causes of the separation seem to have their centres in two habits of social life in the two races, namely, (1) the habit of regarding women; and (2) habits in respect of food. These two causes are of very different values, the one affecting both disposition and opportunity, and the other opportunity alone.

Indeed, the second of the two causes may appear at first sight as inadequate as the difference of colour referred to above; but a little

examination will show that its effects are very far-reaching. It is to be remembered that the Englishman in India is ordinarily a busy man. There are practically no men of leisure among the English in India as there are in England. And the occasions for the growth of intimacy are times of leisure and recreation. But to the busy man the periods of leisure and recreation are much connected with the function of eating. According to English habits people talk while they eat, and they talk and rest after eating. To the busy man there are few other occasions for the unrestrained conversation necessary to the growth of intimacy. No doubt men learn much of one another's nature and character by working together, and may so acquire great respect and regard for one another. But that is a different thing from intimacy. The work in hand prescribes the line of thought; it restricts the flight of the imagination; it precludes the yielding to sensation. While for the growth of that intimacy, the absence of which between East and West we deplore, there must be free communion—minds must be disengaged and ready to follow the suggestions one of another, and not be intent upon an object to be achieved. And to the Englishman, at least, and especially him with long "office hours," it is the people with whom he sits down to eat that he has the opportunity and the disposition to talk freely with. But the different habits of the two races in respect of food prevent them from sitting down together; and it naturally follows that they are apart also in the leisure hours that follow meals, including the time *par excellence* for unrestrained conversation, namely, the period after the last meal of the day, when the work of the day is over.

This cause of separation is, however, of less consequence than the other cause mentioned above, namely, the different standpoints from which Indians and Englishmen regard women. On the one side the *zanana*, the *pardah*, the harem; on the other, freedom, trust, and some approximation to equality. It is needless to dwell upon the familiar theme. Perfectly as Indian gentlemen behave in the presence of English ladies, the knowledge that they would not allow their own ladies to be in the same position is a fatal bar to real intimacy. Englishmen have been extremely generous in this matter. No one would complain if they took a different attitude and held that gentlemen whose habits of life show distrust of women should

not be admitted to the society of women who are trusted. But they have not done so : Indians of good position are largely admitted to general European society, though they do not bring their wives and daughters with them. The admission may, indeed, be somewhat contemptuously made under such circumstances, but still it is made. But the bar remains. The strained intercourse may even accentuate the difference. Those who rely upon purity from within will never be at one with those who require security from without.

The two causes again operate largely together. As the hard-worked man has to find his hours of relaxation in conjunction with his meals, so also does he seek for them in ladies' society, partly in that of his own family, and partly in more general society. The occasion for eating and the pleasure of social intercourse run together. And as the food-question at many points prevents, so the woman-question at other points restrains, free interchange of thought between the Indian and the Englishman. And if, as suggested above, present relations are accompanied by certain feelings of contempt on the one side, there may be similar feelings also on the other ; for, from the Indian point of view, the freedom allowed to Englishwomen may appear indelicate, and there can hardly be any factor more adverse to the mutual understanding desired than a feeling of contempt on the one side or the other.

If anyone doubts the correctness of the views just set forth, let him note two exceptions which tend to prove the rule (using this much-abused expression in its proper sense). First, it is often observed that the freest and most natural intercourse between the two races is found when they meet in games, such as polo or cricket, or (as in some parts of the country) in hunting or shooting. Why ? Because these are pastimes in which women do not ordinarily take part. The absence of the ladies of the one race is not felt, because those of the others are absent also. There is nothing to force attention to the difference of habit ; there is no jar on the sense of what is right and proper.

Secondly, it is constantly being said that Indians find the Englishman much more companionable in England than in India. Why ? Not for the reason sometimes given that the holding of office changes the character of a man. If that may occasionally turn the head of a very young or very weak man, and make him overbearing, the

effect must be far outweighed by the sense of duty and responsibility induced in others. Further, military men have usually no official relations with the people of the country, but they are not placed in a separate category by those who tender the above reason. Again, the difference of colour is as apparent in England as in India. No, the reason is essentially the same as in the other instance. Indians who go to England do not usually take their ladies with them. They are practically, for the time, in the position of widowers or bachelors, and so no jar is felt from the absence of ladies in their company. But let any Indian gentleman go and settle down *with his wife and daughters* in any neighbourhood in England, and then let him seek society in that neighbourhood *without his wife and daughters*, and he will find an aloofness on the part of his neighbours severer than anything he has felt in India. A secondary reason may be found in the fact that there are many persons of wealth and leisure in England. Having no offices to attend, they have much larger scope for social intercourse with strangers.

If these are the causes of the great separation, what of the remedies? Little can be suggested but support and encouragement of the social reformers in India. In them is our hope. But in respect of the food question a little might be done by Englishmen, both for their own sakes and for comity. There is a grossness in the way of exhibiting animal food both in shops and on the table, as also in the very terms used to denote it, which would be unendurable but for custom and tradition from coarser times. Englishmen speak of "joints," and permit unsightly lumps of flesh to be placed on their tables or sideboards, and carcasses to be exposed even in their most fashionable streets—Bond Street in London, for example. Many Indians, indeed, eat meat, and if it is desirable in the interests of the race that the practice should extend, the steps might be made a little easier than they are at present to persons accustomed to a vegetable diet only.

This, however, is but a lesser consideration. The essentials are, first, that Indian women be freed from humiliating restrictions which blind them from perceiving their proper position; and, secondly, that they themselves assert their own dignity. After that East and West may begin to understand each other.

CITIZEN.

THE CHURCH AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

A REJOINDER.

ALTHOUGH I learnt directly and indirectly that my article on this subject had excited a great deal of criticism, and I read in your magazine Sir Edmund Cox's remarks, ill health and absence had inclined me to let the matter rest. But having just seen Mr. Farquhar's reply, I ask for a little space in which to make one or two further observations, and offer some slight explanation.

Sir Edmund Cox seemed to me to represent a very large body of opinion, which is always ready to enquire when profound and vital problems are stated for investigation, *cui bono*?

There is another large body of opinion, of the *nil admirari* type, expressing itself commonly, upon being confronted with any new phase of a dry subject, in such languid disapprobation, as that all such criticism is very trite, "we have heard it all before, why does the fellow din these ancient commonplaces in our ears?"

I do not quite agree with Mr. Farquhar that it is neither clericalism nor obscurantism that keeps gentlemen like Mr. Samuel Smith and Sir Edmund Cox "from accepting criticism, but a genuine conviction that it is unscientific and will soon be shewn to be groundless." I find it too difficult to believe that any intelligent and unbiassed person could deliberately adopt that view of the higher Biblical criticism. Rather I attribute that inveterate dislike and distrust of anything like an attack upon old faiths to one of two causes, or to both combined: (1) Intellectual indolence; (2) Moral timidity. Great numbers are altogether incapable of the sustained intellectual effort required to deal adequately and honestly, as every man should for himself, with the great problems of human life: greater numbers still, who imagine that their happiness is bound up with a creed, fear any investigation which might prove that creed or any integral part of it to be unworthy of belief. My answer to the second class of objectors, the superior man of the world who

really *knows* nothing or next to nothing of such questions, who depends for his opinions upon what he may have picked out of some stray journal, and who would be extremely pushed to defend these opinions by reason or authority, if unexpectedly called upon to do so—my answer to such is that they do *not* know quite as much as they imagine, that even in so necessarily compressed an article as mine was, there was probably much, and allusion to a great deal more, of which they had never heard. If, however, the world really is so well informed upon these grave questions, if all my arguments, illustrations and processes of reasoning are so familiar, so commonly accepted, as to make restating them a work of weary supererogation, then I can only wonder at the lively persistence in practice of error and falsehood, notwithstanding a correspondingly lively realisation of the truth in theory.

And to both I would answer briefly that the repetition of truth is not only often desirable, but absolutely indispensable to compete against the interminable repetition of falsehood. No contribution, however humble, sincerely made to the cause of Truth, can be wholly wasted. It may not convince, it may not even throw any new and striking light upon an old controversy, but as long as the controversy continues, as long as voices are raised to support and disseminate error, Truth stands in need of her champions too. Such efforts may induce, here and there, one or two, to reconsider seriously their mental and moral attitude towards religion, to insist upon throwing off the fetters of mere superstition and inherited prejudice, to insist upon being mentally and morally free, intelligent agents.

Mr. Farquhar belongs to quite a different class. I am not aware whether he is a cleric or a layman, but it is easy to see that he is strongly prepossessed in favour of the accepted teaching. It is on that account the more pleasing to be able to say at once that I have not a single word to say against the tone of his reply. Temperate, scholarly and thoroughly courteous, it works and conciliates an agreement, which I would readily concede if I could. Unfortunately, after bestowing my best attention upon Mr. Farquhar's paper, it leaves me altogether unconvinced upon a single important point. Worse than that, it illustrates over and over again the peculiarly fallacious methods of reasoning into which divines (I do not say Mr. Farquhar is a divine), and all who are affected by the theological bias (as Mr. Farquhar certainly is), permit themselves to, nay, almost inevitably, stray upon any question of theology. Conceding, as I am perfectly willing to do if he wishes it, that Mr. Farquhar is a much more erudite theologian than I am, yet I claim that in

impartially investigating such a question as the inspiration of the Old Testament I start with a very great initial advantage. I have no prepossessions, no bias. It is a matter of perfect indifference to me, except for the academic interest the question possesses, whether the Old Testament is or is not an inspired record. Whether it were or whether it were not, would not disturb my peace of mind or impair my happiness in the least—that is to say, would not do so as I approach the question. What the result of an affirmative answer—and I found myself obliged to give one—might be, I really have not yet paused to estimate. But I certainly do not perceive how it could make me in any way unhappy. That being my position, can Mr. Farquhar and those who think with him honestly assert that they enter into the discussion with the same absolute impartiality, the same complete indifference about the result?

Can Mr. Farquhar truthfully say that he could abandon the inspiration of the Old Testament, all its claims to a divine sanction, without a single pang of regret? I think he could not and dare not. To this extent, then, I come to the enquiry better equipped than he does, better equipped, too, in the most vital particular, for I bring a perfectly open mind. Mr. Farquhar is so evidently a scholar, and what is very much rarer, an urbane scholar, that I shall confine my explanation and observation within the narrowest limits. I make no doubt that he will understand and appreciate my points; while were I to amplify them after the fashion of polemical writers to dazzle the public and win their applause, this discussion of a question, of which the very magnitude and nature demand respectful treatment, might appear to be falling to the level of a personal controversy.

Mr. Farquhar charges me in these words, "but practically all that he says as to the relation of criticism to the church and to theology is thoroughly misleading." And this charge is supported by the statement, of course a perfectly true statement, that the acknowledged leaders of the critical movement are churchmen. Well, perhaps, I did not make myself as clear as I should have done on this point: the ground is rather delicate, yet I cannot help thinking that an intelligent reader of my essay could easily enough have grasped my meaning. I will make it quite clear now. The critical movement, *not* originated, be it remarked by our clergy, but recently admirably served by a few of them, has utterly exploded any notion of the *absolute* truth, historical or anecdotal, of the canonical books: if indeed, that result had not long ago been attained by the silent development of a rationalistic spirit. Such men as Cheyne no more believe in the truth of nine-tenths of the contents

of the canonical books of the Old Testament than they believe in the truth of Grimm's Fairy Tales. Yet let any *layman* lay a sacrilegious finger on these old records, let any candid honest man criticise them unfavourably, and what do we find? Oxford meetings, and Mr. Samuel Smith—nothing very important in themselves, but extremely significant of the *temper* of orthodoxy. So liberal-minded a man as Mr. Farquhar gently deprecates the Oxford meetings—but it remains a fact, and for the purpose of my argument the central fact. I believe I am not mistaken in saying that zealots like these Oxford clergymen have set on foot a society to repel all attacks upon the “sacred” writings.

And whether others attach as much importance as I do to the two facts which were the occasion of my former article, I think every one, including Mr. Farquhar himself, will allow the importance of having a clear answer to the question I next ask.

If all informed intelligence is now practically agreed that the books of the Old Testament contain much which is totally untrue, much too which, whether true or not, cannot possibly serve any moral or religious purpose, why does the church, comprising as it does many brilliant intellects, themselves leaders of the critical movement, obstinately adhere to the sacredness of the Old Testament books? Why does it make them a prominent part of all its religious services; why does it teach the children of the nation to accept endless fables and falsehoods as not only truth but the inspired truth of God's own word? I make Mr. Farquhar a cheerful present of his list of eminent divines who have distinguished themselves in the field of Biblical criticism, but let one of them carry his teachings to their logical conclusion, in the pulpit, and then if the church treats him as liberally as Mr. Farquhar implies that it would, I own his apology would impress me more than it yet has done. The reason why Biblical criticism in England is mainly in the hands of clergymen is simply that it is not a subject which pays the layman. Most of the criticism to which Mr. Farquhar draws attention is minutely exegetical and could not very well be produced except by salaried and specially competent professors. The inseparable concomitant of scientific analysis and exploration is a calm and balanced mind: fanatics make religion, popularise religion, but the scientific divine is the last man in the world who is likely to turn a fanatic iconoclast. Hence, whatever secret convictions may rule in the breasts of these few distinguished Biblical critics, it remains perfectly true that the church collectively is remarkably intolerant of—shall I say logically applied?—Biblical criticism. Let me assume that our German friends

prove to demonstration that Jacob was a lunar myth—will the Archbishop of Canterbury, as soon as his reason is convinced, ordain the removal of Jacob bodily, and all references to him and his doings from Holy Writ? Does Mr. Farquhar think that he would do so? that there is the very remotest possibility of his doing so? And yet as an honest man, pre-eminently as head of the Christian church and, therefore, signally pledged to upholding just dealing and truth, he would be morally bound to. This may partly explain what I mean by the invincible hostility displayed by the church collectively to what I will call purely sectarian criticism of the church's sacred books.

It may be perfectly true, as Mr. Farquhar says, that "you will scarcely find a professor of the Old Testament in any University or in any Theological College in Britain now, who does not hold by the New Criticism": but what are we to say of the clergy? The church cannot be gauged by the opinions of College professors but by her own teachings. Let Mr. Farquhar show me half a dozen leading clergymen telling their people the real truth about the mythological, historical and moral value of the Old Testament, from their pulpits; and if they are not unfrocked I am willing to own that I have over-estimated church bigotry.

Although I took for my text the attitude adopted by the church towards certain very revolutionary criticism, and thus exposed myself quite fairly to Mr. Farquhar's counter, that the leading English Biblical critics are themselves clergy of the church, that is in fact an evasion of the deeper meaning of my charge. Criticism sedulously nursed by the clergy, so kept within safe enough bounds, and frittered away on such trivialities as the authorship of a chronicle, or the character of Hebrew Literature, is a very different thing from independent, possibly even hostile, criticism of much that is in the opinion of the church at present almost essential to the integrity of the Christian faith. I set no particular value on any form of Biblical or other criticism which is merely formal and academic. I should not have noticed the so-called Higher Biblical Criticism but that, honestly pursued, its cumulative effect reinforced by natural reason would go far, or might go far, to dispel the illusion of divine inspiration which the church claims for the Old Testament. By natural reason I mean that average degree of intelligence, which, along with a developing rationalism, makes men smile at many old-world fables. For example, I suppose Mr. Farquhar will admit that no educated churchman believes in the literal truth of the Noachian deluge, with its accessory Biblical details? Still less in the

Biblical version of the creation of Eve. Not even an intelligent child of twelve could be expected to believe in the story of Jonah. Yet the church persistently and with the full weight of its enormous authority teaches all these things Sunday after Sunday to rising generations as the divine truth. Add now the results—comparatively unimportant, I admit—of Biblical criticism proper: and surely any fair-minded and impartial enquirer could only come to one conclusion upon the church's claim for the inspiration and authority of the Old Testament. Mr. Farquhar admits this implicitly, when he says "a further and still more important result (of Biblical criticism) has been a fresh consideration of the doctrine of inspiration and revelation, and the formation of far richer and more spiritual conceptions on these great questions." Plainly, the march of intellect, with or without the pointed assistance of Biblical criticism, did demand a reconstitution of the "doctrine of inspiration and revelation."

Mr. Farquhar tells us, and I am extremely glad to hear it, that "already the professoriate is almost altogether critical—a large proportion of the ministers has come over to the same side, and the education of the laity has been begun." Then what are we to say of the consistency or the courage of these critical churchmen? Has the church's teaching, her public teaching I mean, of the absolute infallibility of the Bible as a whole, altered one hair's breadth from the days when, bigots though they were, the heads of the church might reasonably and honestly believe what they taught and insisted upon their flocks believing? In those days they believed that the world was flat; that 'miracles' were every day occurrences, that the sun, moon and stars were really hung up to light this atom of a planet; and naturally enough they could easily believe all the Bible marvels as well. No sincere and capable man can pretend at the present day to believe any of these things; why, then, I ask—and it is my final question—have no churchmen the courage to face the facts? Can any good come out of pretending to believe and solemnly teaching what is known not to be true? This difficulty was evidently lurking in Mr. Farquhar's mind when he wrote "Evangelical Christians know the Bible to be a book of simply infinite value to morality and spiritual religion. But they know too that its utility depends upon its being regularly, trustfully and prayerfully used. Therefore they object to any criticism of it." The passage I have quoted is an instructive example of the methods of reasoning into which religious people, even such able and cultivated religious people as Mr. Farquhar, fall directly they reason about any part of their faith. How.

do Evangelical Christians collectively *know* what Mr. Farquhar asserts? What conceivable reason is there for supposing that if the whole of the Old Testament were irrevocably lost to-morrow and not a trace of it remained, descendants of the present Evangelical Christians would not supply subjectively from other sources the same stimuli to religious emotion which they are now habituated to seek exclusively in the Bible? Without wishing to hurt Mr. Farquhar's feelings or the feelings of any other good man, I must be allowed positively to assert my own conviction that the "spiritual religion" of the world to-day would get on quite as well, and the morality very likely even better, were the Old Testament books, or a very large number of them, relegated to their proper place in ancient literature. I cannot myself understand how any very pure religious sentiment, any exalted morality, can need for its first soil an old world collection of annals, poems, rhapsodies, and anecdotes of which many are obviously crude fictions, and none of any very unique ethical value. The real mental attitude of Evangelical Christians, on this point, towards truth in the abstract is so naively and yet so accurately expressed by Mr. Farquhar, that I need say no more of it.

I come now to what I regard as Mr. Farquhar's most serious accusation, namely, that I "am still in the dark ages so far as the question of inspiration and revelation is concerned." Begging Mr. Farquhar's pardon, I must peremptorily contradict him here. I am perhaps only too conversant with the ingenious sophistries, the quibbles and evasions by means of which modern churchmen strive, as Mr. Farquhar strives, and always in vain, to surmount the insurmountable difficulty. He appears to think that all is done as soon as a new doctrine of inspiration is invented to satisfy the enlarged demands of widening knowledge. But the real point at issue between completely impartial men like myself and the church is not whether a theory of inspiration can be framed to fit in with the awkward fact that so-called inspired writings are liberally alloyed with patent falsehood, but whether as a fact the claim for "inspiration" or "revelation" is made good. Mr. Farquhar hints that the "far richer and more spiritual conception" of inspiration which the church avowedly owes to the critical method is something of this kind. God inspires men to speak religious truth, but as they are not inspired upon any other subject, yet will persist in dealing with natural events, human conduct, chronology, geology and so forth—the inspiration is only to be sought in such phrases as may be adjudged to express religious truth. Upon this showing about half at least of the Old Testament might be authoritatively declared at once

to have no divine authority. So, too, of revelation: it is a revelation of God, His holiness, and His love. But as it comes through imperfect men, the books in which they enshrine it are imperfect. "But the treasure is none the less priceless." This again is a curiously instructive example of the lengths to which special pleading can be carried in a cause which enlists all the emotional rather than the intellectual faculties. By a parity of reasoning every fine moral thought in every known writer from Manu to Swinburne is a "revelation" or an "inspiration." But in my opinion the revelation or inspiration, on the strength of which the church requires absolute and unqualified acceptance of the inspired writings, is something very different. I attempted in my former paper to define some of the essential ingredients of a true inspiration. Mr. Farquhar takes no exception to that attempt, imperfect, as I am aware, it was. Now my position is simply this—inspiration or revelation is an alleged fact quite outside of all normal experience. You allege it in the case of certain ancient writings. I say that on carefully perusing them I do not discover a single feature of which I am unable to give quite a simple, normal, natural explanation. It is for you to prove the claim you have put forward.

I am not perhaps as good a theologian as Mr. Farquhar. But I believe I am quite as good a judge of evidence; and I say without fear of any competent and unbiassed contradiction, that not a tittle of evidence worth the name can or ever has been adduced to support the claim that the Old Testament writings were inspired. And I say that the "richer and more spiritual conception" mentioned by Mr. Farquhar is nothing more or less than a piece of transparent verbal casuistry, to smother in phrases an abandonment of what was once, and logically ought always to be, an essential part of any and every theory of inspiration. Supposing God really needs such very singular means of impressing His eternal truths on mankind, as a human mouthpiece, it is surely to be presumed that He would make certain of that mouthpiece, charged with so sublime a commission, not impairing its purity, its convincing force, and permanent value, by any gross admixture of silly human error. Of inspiration, if such things have ever been, I say the whole or none. I cannot believe that a man could be "inspired" to impart impenetrable truth and yet permitted to adorn it with such folly as the story of Jonah and the Whale. And although our theologians are so very ready to see revelation or inspiration in their own sacred writings, do they display anything like the same liberality towards the sacred writings of others?

No religious work in the history of the world makes so distinct and consistent a claim to inspiration, or revelation, as the Koran. Tested for proof it comes out of the ordeal at least as well, I think, as any part of the Old Testament of equal size; yet I do not suppose that a single eminent Divine of the Christian faith would allow that the inspiration of the Koran was even a debatable question. Next, Mr. Farquhar alleges that I part company with the critics in my estimate of the value of the Old Testament. After giving the most careful attention to the arguments and statements of my learned and courteous opponent, I regret to find myself still of the same opinion as before. Whether in this respect I part company with the critics or not, affects me not at all. But I believe that if the inmost hearts of the most eminent of these gentlemen could be laid bare, we should find that their true opinion did not differ very widely from mine. I allow, in the broadest terms, the literary value of the Old Testament, I am deeply sensible of the poetical beauty of the Psalms, the book of Job, and almost all the prophets; that these outpourings of fine, though not, I submit, divinely inspired spirits can be subjectively adapted to meet the varying phases of religious emotion, I do not deny. But I maintain and shall continue to do so until I am persuaded by some much more convincing argument than any I have yet met with, that as touching the energising efficacy of the Christian Religion, its true essence distinguished from superimposed human formalism, the total subtraction of the Old Testament from the religious ritual of the Christian Church, while pauperising it on its sensual, æsthetic and literary sides, would rather enrich it in concentrated spiritual Christian essence. For whether the statement makes Mr. Farquhar and other able and devout gentlemen like himself gasp or not, I must hardily repeat it. The ethics of the Old Testament are altogether different from—I believe I may say without exaggeration, inconsistent with—the ethics of Christianity. If it were possible to set before a visitor from another planet, endowed with the average intellectual faculty of our day, while wholly free from every prepossession, the books of the Old and the New Testament, and request his verdict upon the ethical teachings contained in each, more especially perhaps comparing the pentateuchal books with the narrative of the Christ, I should be quite willing to stake all my worldly possessions and my reputation on that verdict being, as I have just said, that the schemes of morality expressed in the two works belong to two altogether different moral climates. The ingenuity, which is compelled to fall back upon the explanation that the teaching of the New is a natural evolution of the

teaching of the Old Testament, might be applied with the same force to show that every form of religion has been evolved from some lower form. I do not think that every critic worth the name will be found to subscribe to the words of Doctor Fairbairn. They appear to me to be merely an assertion and a plainly erroneous assertion. Nor does Herman Schultz daunt me. On a point so simple, I reserve to myself the right of free opinion, and I am sorry that I must wholly disagree with Herman Schultz. It is quite impossible within the compass of an article to set out at length the reasons why I conclude that the morality of the Old is not the morality of the New Testament. It is enough to say that limiting ourselves to the narrative of Israel, the central feature is a persistent belief not only in the expediency of exterminating all who opposed the progress of the chosen tribes, but in those bloody massacres and essentially savage human outbursts of the worst passions being divinely commanded and approved. The keynote of the New Testament, if I may presume to select one striking sentence to illustrate my meaning, lies in the injunction to love our enemies, and to turn with humility the other cheek to the smiter. This can hardly be called in fairness an evolution, or at least a normal and necessary evolution from the Jewish faith. It came upon the world as a new gospel, and perhaps more than any other single feature in all that wonderful teaching, excepting perhaps its insistence upon the illusoriness of temporal prosperity and happiness as a true gauge of divine approbation, stamped upon the Christian teaching a sublimity, a divine attractiveness, justifying its inspired origin.

If I am in error, it is not, as Mr. Farquhar supposes, because the points on which he insists have escaped me, but because, after pondering them for many years, I have come to the conclusions which appear to him so startling and unconventional.

F C. O. BEAMAN.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Government and the People.

Out of evil cometh good : good has come out of the sufferings through which Bombay recently passed, in that the Government have learnt certain lessons, and among them, said Lord Northcote, the other day, "the need of taking the people more fully into their confidence and of making an effort to spread abroad the principles underlying the actions of Government—principles which, if left unexplained, are apt to be misinterpreted, either purposely or through ignorance." The people may be taken into confidence either with a view to learn their wishes and their wisdom, or to secure their co-operation and good-will. The various Commissions issued by Lord Curzon have striven to achieve the former object : the luminous speeches which His Excellency has from time to time delivered, and some of the Resolutions which the Government of India have recently published, are calculated to secure the latter end. In the Executive branch of the administration, the counsel of the people is seldom sought on questions of general policy, especially when this relates to the collection of revenue. Thus the Bombay Government has submitted to the Government of India important proposals concerning the collection of land revenue in the Western Presidency, but no attempt was made to gauge public opinion on the reforms needed, and until the Government of India sanctions the proposals, the public will not know anything about what is to come, beyond what Lord Northcote has been good enough to reveal. Conciliation rather than counsel is the object of the confidence which the worthy Governor of Bombay would extend to the people. The need felt is said to be that of spreading among the people a knowledge of the principles underlying the actions of Government. Others have spoken of this need before, and the

Government has often been advised to make an effort to spread abroad a plain and unvarnished tale of its doings and intentions; but the wisdom of the Rulers appearing to be on their defence in an Oriental country has not been universally recognised. Lord Northcote apparently believes in the practicability of enforcing the lesson learnt by his Government, in some visible and effective form. Otherwise, why did he refer to the need of making the effort? Educated men have always been exhorted and expected to interpret the acts of Government to their uneducated countrymen. If now the Government finds it necessary to take the burden on its own shoulders, evidently in its opinion the educated community is not equal to the task. Who are the people that the Government will take into its confidence? We must leave time to answer the question.

Meanwhile, it has been suggested from influential quarters that the Government should enlighten the people on the policy underlying its actions, and on its undertakings and achievements generally, by means of cheap, but sound and reliable, literature—leaflets, pamphlets and booklets, not for the English-educated men, but for the masses. Mighty is the influence of letters: revolutions have been helped by it. Carlyle has said sarcastically of what occurred in France: "The very Government shall have its Pasted Journal. Great is Journalism. Is not every Able Editor a Ruler of the World, being a persuader of it; though self-elected, yet sanctioned, by the sale of his numbers? Whom, indeed, the world has the readiest method of deposing, should need be: That of doing *nothing* to him; which ends in starvation." The Government will not have to starve: it can sell its productions for a nominal price, or give them away for the asking. A stroke of the pen at the Secretariat—that pineal gland of the administration—will send leaflets flying all over the country: Commissioner and Collector, Mamlatdar and Revenue Inspector, Patel and Karkun, Postmaster and Schoolmaster, Officer superior and Officer ministerial—one and all may cast the bread upon the waters. The Government sells quinine in packets; why shall it not sell wisdom in pamphlets? And who will compete with Government?

What, then, will happen when knowledge unfolds her ample page to the simple rustic? He will know what the Government has

done for him and why it has done it. That will be a great gain. But Duty is never appeased : it ever asks for more : one duty springs from another. The labour of a progressive Government is like the labour of Sisyphus : it always begins, and never ends. The Universities have produced the urban politician : the Government may produce his rural likeness. Philip of the country may be safer to appeal to than Philip of the city ; but he will not be mute if you speak to him. Lord Ampthill gave audience to a number of landowners the other day and wished to hear from their own lips where the Government pinched them. Very instructive was the sequel. The preliminary acknowledgment of the Sirkar being the *Mabap* and of His Excellency's kindness over, complaint followed upon complaint against the Revenue Department. His Lordship answered where he could, promised consideration where he could not answer, and pleaded lack of funds when he could neither answer nor promise consideration. At last, up rose a doughty landowner and rattled away a speech in Tamil, demanding repeatedly what was the earthly good of Government professing to listen to the wants of the people if whenever something really useful was asked, the Government pleaded want of funds. To inform is not to convince. To intend is not to fulfil. The ignorant ryots, who have been accustomed unmurmuringly to obey the Government demand, will wonder why the Sirkar should be at such immense pains to convince them of its benevolent intentions : the intelligent will appreciate the honour of the confidence which is reposed in them, and begin to feel that they are also units of the Empire. They may not enjoy the privilege of the vote, and one may not be able to say of them as the poet said of the American electors :

Around I see
The powers that be ;
I stand by the Empire's primal springs ;
And princes meet
In every street,
And hear the tread of uncrowned kings !

Yet, but for their importance why would the Government deign to seek their moral support ? We do not expect Government to embark on a systematic course of instruction of the ryots in the affairs of the Empire : Lord Northcote at least was evidently think-

ing of provincial and parochial politics—especially the Government's dealings with the agricultural population—when he spoke of the need of taking the people into confidence. Yet, within those narrow limits, the ryots to whom the Government opens its mind freely will be taught to inquire into the why and wherefore of the acts and omissions of the Sirkar. The result will be to create an atmosphere free, indeed, from the mists and tempests of the vale of untruth, yet bracing to the officials whose acts are scrutinised. The sense of accountability in the Government will be sharpened and some of the essential qualities of popular Government, though not its external forms, will be secured. Lord William Bentinck observed in 1835 that, "the spread of knowledge and the operations of the press are tending rapidly as well to weaken the respect entertained for the European character and the prestige of British supremacy as to elevate the Native character, to make these men alive to their own rights and more sensible of their power."

The Eastern teaching that ignorance is the mother of distinction, and that the eye of knowledge perceives unity where Maya creates the phenomenon of diversity, has an application in political evolution too. But this perception of unity comes after a long process of self-education and self-discipline, and many a birth has to be passed through before the ryot can aspire to absorption into the political Brahman.

When Professor Flinders Petrie was in 1894-5 excavating, along with what is called the Research Account party, headed by Mr. J. E. Quaihell, along the desert edge, about thirty miles north of Thebes, on the western side, they came on what are now known as the relics of the "New Race," whose monuments suffice to give light enough to place them as the people who fill up the void between the VI. and X. Egyptian dynasties. The excavations went on through a series of surprises, and not the least of these surprises was a succession of vases of most exquisite form and design, in course of time growing more and more elaborate and delicate, which had been completely wrought by hand (with thumb-nail marks in very lovely patterns in some cases), no potter's wheel having been used by these people.

The second and yet greater surprise in some respects, if it did not come next in time, was perhaps next in curious interest, if not in importance. Fragments of slate were met with, perfectly smoothed on the surfaces by rubbing with other stones; the edges of them nicely worked in fish-bone patterns or even more exquisite devices, and sometimes finely serrated along the edge like a leaf. As the excavations went on, more and more of these fragments were found, and many guesses were made as to their purpose. Some thought they were parts of offering-plates in which offerings of bread, fruits, etc., were made to the dead ancestors—the ornamentation and the size, as far as could then be guessed at, combining to give weight to the idea, as they could be so easily introduced into a kind of pigeon-holes at the side of the tombs—little niches intended to receive such offerings. Some, again, thought they might be some kind of tablets, and others that they were nothing but notice-boards to be hung up at the doors of houses with advices or directions to visitors.

As the excavators went deeper, more and more of these things were found, and at last some of them entire—cut out into the most lovely forms of fishes, with finely-serrated raised pieces for fins, etc., and animals and various other forms. At length Professor Flinders Petrie gave special attention to these things; and, examining them carefully, he found, by the most delicate touch over with the finger, that toward the centre of some of them, there was the gentlest, most gradual depression. At last, on one, as he touched it, a peculiar dust came off; he examined it, and analysed it, and found that it was a fine powder from ground malachite and certain other substances.

And now the secret was found. These were the palettes which the ladies of these very remote days in Egypt had for grinding their face-paint, which they did with a small pebble for a pestle. And these painting instruments were often buried with their owners, for when these patient investigators came to some tombs they found there some of the finest specimens quite entire and beautiful. The Professor says:

“These slates generally lay near the head of the body, and often a small bag of malachite and galena was placed in the hand. These forms are of various fish and animals—gazelle, ibex, elephant, turtle, birds, double-birds and fishes: besides rhombs, squares and

ovals. The malachite still remains on some of them, and the worn grinding places may be seen on not a few of even the most unlikely forms such as the large rhombs. The use and age of such slates were quite unknown till the excavations of this year : none of the kind are known in any Egyptian tombs" : which naturally leads to the remark here that this New Race was not Egyptian, but intruded, whether Amorites or other race is yet quite undecided.

We have ourselves some ladies among us who know certain secrets of painting faces, but among those New Race ladies the practice would seem to have been pretty general and exercised with not a little art. And so firm was the belief in a future world, and in the reappearance somehow of "this muddy vesture of decay" over there that they had their palettes and little bags of the powder buried with them for use—Verily, verily, Vanity, thy name is woman!

We know that the Jewish women in the time of the later prophets painted the eyes with kohl and no doubt had little plates or palettes on which they prepared or mixed the liquid and powder ; and also we find that they did exactly as some Hindu women do—painted themselves between the eyes. As regards the Hindu women we read :—

"The Hindu women practised tattooing, as by receiving it they believed they could avoid the torment of the God of Death—or hell. The Hindu women, like the Hebrew women, were tattooed between the two eyebrows, above the nose, often in the chin, and sometimes on each side of the nose or on the chest or on the hands."

So, the women of this New Race of Professor Flinders Petrie, which so exactly fills up the void between the VI and X dynasties, were in this respect exactly like the Hebrew women of earlier times and Hindu women : and everywhere we find that this painting more or less clearly connected itself with the ideas that are everywhere associated with tattooing, or printing on face or body marks or designs which indicated, first, clan or tribe, or, it may be later, caste, and which everywhere also bore originally a significance far beyond mere personal decoration. But in the lapse of time it came inevitably, and more and more superficially, to express only that—misleading many "good men and true," who, with a view to establish, as they are fain to do, the doctrine of sexual selection, give countenance to the idea of freedom of choice in mating under tribal rule, and ask

us to believe that skin marks and decorations lent aid to successful courting and being courted, such as certainly could not exist or be tolerated in tribal life. In a volume entitled "Some Heresies Dealt With," published by Mr. Thomas Burleigh, London, Dr. A. H. Japp has successfully proved that Professor Westermarck's idea that all tattooing and painting, or printing on the body or on the face of certain forms, or mutilation, was merely decorative and "to aid successfully in courting or being courted" is not supported by facts, and that, indeed, clan or tribal life allowed and could allow no such thing as free courting in a modern sense or in Westermarck's sense; and this view is absolutely supported by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their great work—one of the greatest of its kind that has ever appeared—on the natives of Central Australia and their customs and beliefs, as well as by the reports of the Bureau of Ethnology in the United States and Dr. W. Gell's Books about the South Pacific.

CURRENT EVENTS.

HUNGARY celebrated, on the 19th of September, the centenary of her favourite hero—of Kossuth. The festivities were splendid and bore a peculiar character of patriotism and majesty. The smallest town, as well as the capital of the Kingdom, was adorned with flowers, flags, and lights. Patriotic speeches were made in great numbers, religious services solemnly celebrated in the Protestant temples, and the first stone of a splendid monument in honour of Kossuth was laid in the cemetery of Budapest in the presence of an immense and admiring crowd. Such worship is well deserved by the noble hero in whom was so thoroughly incarnated the soul of the Hungarian nation. His spotless character, his rare disinterestedness, his elevated sentiment, his ardent patriotism and his very superior talent of eloquence made him famous not only in his own country, but in all the thinking world. Kossuth was born in Hungary in 1802. His family was noble, his pecuniary situation honourable. He became a barrister and, from his earliest youth onward, he showed himself attached to the popular national party. After the Diète (assembly of the two Parliaments) of 1836, he founded a political paper which published the deliberations of the different Comitats (provinces), and which, copied with the hand, was distributed in all the country under his care. Metternich, then Prime Minister in Austria, forbade this publication. Kossuth continued it, which caused him to be thrown into prison in May, 1837. For a whole year he was kept in close confinement and treated with a severity which sometimes approached cruelty. As soon as books were allowed to him, he asked for Shakespeare's works, and it was in reading them that he learnt English without having ever been taught. He remained three years imprisoned. When he was set free, he appeared to the Hungarians as a saint, as a martyr. And in truth, these sad times and hard trials had achieved the formation of his great moral character. The following year he founded an important political paper, the *Pesti Hírlap*, which was the organ of the national party. This journal had an immense success and exists still. In 1847 Kossuth became a Deputy, and was immediately looked upon as the leader of his party. In 1848 he was recognised

by all as the chief of the Hungarian Government. It is not the size of a country, but the character of its people, that gives it its real value. For want of space we cannot write here of the heroic War of Independence of Hungary, in which the rich and the poor, the lord and the peasant, fought hand in hand for the defence of their constitution and the liberty of their fatherland, and gave sublime examples of a rare heroism. It was only after this small valiant nation had been attacked on nine sides at a time and had resisted with glory for several months, that it was crushed and forced to capitulation. But though the band of heroes were destroyed, they did not die in vain; they left their fatherland more famous still than at the age of its greatest power. After the glorious defeat in 1849, Kossuth, exiled, travelled through France, Italy, England, America, trying everywhere to find assistance in order to help his valiant countrymen to recover their independence. In each of these countries he organised conferences, all of which roused the enthusiasm of the public. Kossuth was a great speaker. He possessed a deep and melodious voice. His face expressed all his feelings with a mobility and an intensity which never failed to excite the emotion he aimed at. Like most Hungarians, he had the gift of languages. His literary form was exquisite, his elocution very clear. He was tall. His large blue eyes contained light; his forehead, broad, high and even, was that of a thinker; his nose, straight and vibrating, denoted his ardent temper, and his mouth, well formed but rather large, expressed kindness and strength. In 1895 he settled in Turin. And though he was made Deputy several times in Hungary, though the Emperor of Austria, crowned King of Hungary, begged him to return, he would never leave the land of exile, nor accept any reward or distinction. He died in Turin in 1894, regretted by all political parties, as he had been esteemed by all. He struggled nobly; he died faithfully, leaving behind him a name that every Hungarian venerates, and the image of a most complete and beautiful moral physiognomy, formed by character, energy and genius.



The last speech delivered by H. E. the Viceroy in his tour through Rajputana was by no means the least important: it contained a clear and interesting exposition of the principles which have guided His Excellency in his dealings with Native Princes. He realises the "benefits which the continued existence of the Native States confers upon Indian Society amid the levelling tendencies of the age and the inevitable monotony of government conducted on scientific lines. They keep alive the traditions and customs, they sustain the virility, and they save from extinction the picturesqueness of ancient and noble races. They have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from

their being born of the soil ; they provide scope for the activities of the hereditary aristocracy of the country and employment for native intellect and ambition." It would be essential to add that the people of the Native States themselves prefer the picturesqueness to the scientific monotony, for it is for their sake that the old systems exist, and not for ours. At Ajmere, His Excellency explained the nature of the reforms that are to be introduced in the Mayo College with a view to fit the Rajkumars for the discharge of the high duties which would fall to their share when they grow up. At Jaipur, he pictured for them a still higher destiny, when he said : "Sometimes I cast my eyes into the future, and I picture a state of society in which the Indian Princes, trained to all the advantages of Western culture, but yet not divorced in instinct or in mode of life from their own people, will fill an even ampler part than at present in the administration of this Empire." What might be this ampler part of which His Excellency was thinking ? Had it any reference to that Council of the Indian Empire which saw the light of day but never drew breath ? He further explained that, far from seeking to detract from the honour of the Chiefs at the Delhi Durbar, his one preoccupation has been to add to it. Honour and dishonour are sometimes more or less matters of convention, and if the Government and the Native Princes concerned are agreed that the parts assigned the latter are honourable, the discussion whether or not they ought to be considered to be so, serves no useful purpose. How differently the same acts of Government strike different minds may be judged from these interesting remarks of a writer : "Since the time when Daniel was a page at Nebuchadnezzar's court, founders of Empires have always sought to attract to themselves the younger aristocrats belonging to the conquered peoples. Most of the barbarians who wore the purple during the decadence of Rome had in their youth been ' of Cæsar's house ' ; the courts of the Tudors swarmed with the sons of Welsh and Irish chieftains ; King James I. sent the heir of the O'Neills to study at Eton under Sir Henry Wotton ; in our own India the Ajmere College and the Corps of Imperial Cadets are the outcome of the same policy." The analogy seems to be somewhat misleading.



There are certain features of the last debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, which will be regarded not without satisfaction in India. Lord George Hamilton indeed denied that India was growing poorer, because he said the income of the people was increasing year by year, and taxation remaining steady, the proceeds of it were increasing. But he admitted that India was a very poor country ; that "from certain mistakes which have been associated with our land assessment, there is a great increase in the indebtedness of the cultivating classes." He had resisted the

demand of the War Office to pay an extra 6*d.* to soldiers if they remained for a longer period than three years with the colours, and it had been agreed to refer the question to arbitration. For the persistent neglect of Indian interests in Parliament, Mr. H. Roberts and Sir Charles Dilke proposed an effectual remedy, that "the cost of the Parliamentary representatives of the India Office, with an adequate staff, should be paid by the United Kingdom by a Vote of Parliament"; but of course the proposition was negatived. It was not very judicious to have dragged the case of the 9th Lancers into Parliament: but it gave Lord George Hamilton an opportunity not only to praise the Viceroy's courage in fighting down evil, but to emphasise in a place like the House of Commons the equality before the law of European and Native races alike.



The hand of Death has snatched away a distinguished public servant when the end of his official voyage was well within sight. Sir John Woodburn, like so many other officials who see every day of their career in India the intellectual and moral gulf between themselves and the people with whom they come in contact, was a believer in the theory of paternal Government. He was a great friend of the Talukdars of Oudh, and when recently he went down to Lucknow to witness the unveiling of a statue of Sir Man Singh, the Talukdars proposed to erect a statue to Sir John himself. In Bengal he took an especial interest in the younger generation, and although his theory of the duty which the Government owes to the people in this country did not allow him to gain more popularity than he did, his whole-hearted devotion to the public interest was ungrudgingly appreciated. It is sad to think how he underrated the nature of his illness and died a martyr to duty.



Sir Power Palmer has been rung out, Lord Kitchener has been rung in. Considerable reforms were effected in the Indian Army when Sir Power was at the head of it: H. E. the Viceroy congratulated him recently on the fact that he could look back upon "an army almost entirely re-armed, supplied with a large increase of officers, and better equipped in respect of transport; a system of frontier defence immeasurably superior to that of a few years ago, the mobilisation of coast defence, artillery re-armament, and reconstruction of Indian factories for the supply of materials and munitions of war." Kitchener is a great name: its very mention conjures up visions of war and its triumphs. And this association of ideas is not dispelled by Lord George Hamilton's announcement in the House of Commons that the white troops in India will probably have to be increased, and the sensational telegram in the papers—which, let us hope, is nothing more than a counterblast—

that Russia is going to move ten thousand troops to the Afghan frontier.



Lord Curzon recently referred to a frontier campaign as "that most unprofitable of all undertakings," but the Government is seldom allowed complete rest on our North-West frontier, and last month there was again a recrudescence of tribal unrest in that quarter. There is in all men something of him who said that it was better to reign in hell than to serve in heaven. It may take long for the kingdom of civilisation to establish itself in a place where there are evidently not a few spirits who would prefer the freedom of barbarism to the restraint of civilisation.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ALOOFNESS AND ITS CAUSES.

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—Much has been said lately in the Anglo-Indian and Vernacular Press of the growing aloofness between the Indian Civilians of the present day and the natives of the country. The present writer, having left India for about a quarter of a century, cannot speak personally as to the increase of this feeling in more recent years, but from what he has learnt from many of the Indian students who are now in England under preparation for the legal, medical and other professions, and from remarks in the newspapers, the chief causes to which it is attributed are, first, the more frequent and easier means of communication with England and the rest of the world existing now than in the days of old, and the consequently greater facility of intercourse between the English members of the Service with their own people at home; and secondly, to the smaller attention paid than formerly to the acquisition and familiar use of the vernacular languages of the country, whilst what may be termed Anti-English writers assign as the chief cause the insular pride and *hauteur* of the Englishman in his dealings with the natives.

In the two former causes there may be a certain amount of plausibility. The mere natural inclination of a man towards his own country and his own people must dispose him to look forward wistfully to the day when he may personally revisit the former and be with the latter, and count as a gain all improvements in the means of communication between the two countries, but considerations of his own comfort and convenience, not to speak of the more honourable motives of duty and obedience to authority, must force him to make the best of circumstances and accommodate himself to his surroundings so as not to isolate himself from his fellow-creatures, though of a darker complexion than himself, and not be left entirely to his own thoughts and devices. Besides, it is difficult to conceive that an Englishman should, owing merely to the change of scene and conditions in which he is placed, become the reverse of what he is at home and lose his natural *bonhomie*.

Calum, non animum, mutant qui transmare currunt. Then, in as far as a knowledge of the vernaculars is concerned, it may occasionally happen that in the exigencies of the service a Civilian may be transferred from a province of which he knows the language to another with the vernacular of which he is not acquainted, yet he will find few places

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where Hindustani will not serve him as a *lingua franca* that most natives will understand until he learns the language of his new locality. It may be taken for granted that those who will not do this for the sake of their own comfort in the transaction of business, especially in the trial of criminal cases, will be the exception to the rule. We doubt if there could now be found a single instance of such complete ignorance of this common language as was shown by one of the old judges of the Sudder Adawlut when he was pronouncing sentence on a prisoner who the Court had decided was guilty of culpable homicide when he had been charged with murder. He announced in his peculiar phraseology that the prisoner had "*jani bijse khun hiya*" (which meant that he had committed deliberate murder), and nudged by his fellow-judge and reminded that they had reduced the crime to culpable homicide, he replied: "Well, is not that just what I have told him?"*

Is there not, then, some other cause to which the aloofness referred to may to some extent be attributed? We find it in the behaviour of the natives themselves, and especially of the Hindus. Their social and religious ideas are as a rule so peculiar that no European or low-caste man can enter their houses or approach their cooking places or food without these being ceremonially defiled and unfit for them. Is it a wonder, then, that an Englishman, with his innate sense of how he should conduct himself towards his neighbour, should be most careful not to make any nearer social approach towards the natives than may be absolutely necessary, and is it not this shyness on the part of the European that those who do not understand him put down to deliberate aloofness and pride of race? The writer can truthfully aver for himself that such was his own feeling when in the service, and would be still, if the customs of natives in this respect and with regard to the female members of their families should not, meanwhile, through the spread of education and other enlightening causes, have reasonably changed.

Let the natives of the country look to this themselves, and not accuse the modern Civilian of inordinate *hauteur*. By his position and surroundings the latter must to a certain extent hold himself apart from those he is called upon to rule over, but that there is nothing more in his constrained behaviour towards the majority of the natives than this is clearly proved by the way in which the latter are freely admitted to society in England. Let them cease to look upon the Englishman as a *Mlechha*, and they will soon find he is a reasonable being, fit to be admitted to social intercourse with them.

A. ROBERTS.

21st October, 1902.

* This anecdote is vouched for by the writer, as it was told him by the same narrator today.



